FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1477091-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 49
Page 52 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 53 ~ Referral/Consult;
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Page 56 ~ Referral/Consult;
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Page 82 ~ Referral/Consult;
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Page 137 ~ b6; b7C; Referral/Consult;
Page 138 ~ b6; b7C; Referral/Consult;
Page 139 ~ b6; b7C; Referral/Consult;
Page 140 ~ b6; b7C; Referral/Consult;
Page 141 ~ b6; b7C; Referral/Consult;
Page 142 ~ b6; b7C; Referral/Consult;
Page 143 ~ b6; b7C; Referral/Consult;
Page 144 ~ b6; b7C; Referral/Direct;
Page 145 ~ b6; b7C; Referral/Consult;
Page 146 ~ b6; b7C; Referral/Consult;
Page 155 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 156 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 157 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 158 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 159 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 160 ~ Referral/Consult;

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FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 10/22/64

Transmit the following in ______________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ______________________
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-0)

SUBJECT: ~~"RAMPART" MAGAZINE~~
~~INFORMATION CONCERNING~~

REC-44

On 10/22/64, [redacted] [redacted] advised she was in possession of a page from "Time" Magazine which contained an advertisement of the "Rampart" Magazine. She stated that this advertisement contained a number of quotes of Cardinal MC INTYRE of Los Angeles, numerous pictures, and signs such as a Nazi Swastika, "The God d---white man read this book--Harlem Diary", and "The Communist Party is a white man's organization". [redacted] stated that this advertisement appeared in an 10/23/64 issue of "Time" Magazine and that "Rampart" Magazine was advertised as a Catholic journal of independent opinion printed at Menlo Park, California. [redacted] "Time" Magazine, advised that the above advertisement appeared in the 10/23/64, "Educator's Edition". The above is furnished to Bureau and New York for information.

b6
b7C

"RAMPARTS" also Am. B.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/16/80 BY [illegible]

MCT

REC-44 100-445393-X

~~62-0-~~ 66017

20 OCT 26 1964

3 - Bureau
2 - New York
1 - Chicago

EX-102

JWT:ptc
(6)

F126

CRIME RESEARCH

NOV 3 1964

Approved: ______________________ Sent ______________ M Per ______________
Special Agent in Charge

MAR 17 1967

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-107-5

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/1/66

FROM : SAC, NORFOLK (100-0)

4036

SUBJECT: MAGAZINE - "RAMPARTS"
INFORMATION CONCERNING
[redacted]

b6
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau is literature which was received by [redacted] Office of Naval Intelligence, Atlantic Intelligence Center, Norfolk, Va., who forwarded this material to the Norfolk Division, thinking that it may be of a subversive nature.

It is requested that the Bureau furnish the Norfolk Division any information of interest which could be disseminated to the Office of Naval Intelligence.

Let Norfolk
1/24

2-Bureau (Enc. 4) (Reg.)
1-Norfolk
ET:bsw
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/6/80 BY hic

1cc 932 (ONI)

100-445393-X1
REC 20 ~~62-0-68218~~

MAR 3 1966

199

MAR 17 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

FIRST CLASS
PERMIT NO. 219
MENLO PARK
CALIF.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed In the United States

Postage Will Be Paid by

RAMPARTS

MENLO PARK
CALIFORNIA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

FIRST CLASS
PERMIT NO. 219
MENLO PARK
CALIF.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the United States

Postage Will Be Paid by

Ramparts
MENLO PARK
CALIFORNIA

O

SPECIAL
FREE TRIAL
OFFER

If I am not completely satisfied with my first issue of RAMPARTS, I may cancel my subscription, keep the issue, keep the *Vietnam Primer* . . . and owe nothing.

Please enter a trial subscription to RAMPARTS in my name at the special rate of six months for only $2.67.

Also send me FREE, at once, a copy of the Vietnam Primer.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

Address

City

State ZIP #

☐ **I prefer 12 months for $5.00**

☐ **Payment enclosed**
(Refunded in full, of course, if subscription cancelled)

☐ **Bill me**

42AFB

Free *with your subscription to* Ramparts

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

The full story, the real story of the Vietnam War-- from start to ???

A
VIETNAM
PRIMER

PUBLISHED BY THE
EDITORS OF
RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

New! First time offered

"The wicked are wicked no doubt," wrote William Makepeace Thackeray, "and they go astray and they fall, and they come by their deserts; but who can tell the mischief which the very virtuous do?"

This thought applies with extraordinary precision to the U.S. position in Vietnam.

Month after month RAMPARTS has revealed new behind-the-scenes information about the Vietnam War—the *true*, stranger-than-fiction way the U.S. got involved, the steps that escalated the war, the attitudes of our military and political leaders, the prospects and alternatives for the future.

Now for the first time, these RAMPARTS articles have been gathered together in *one* 96-page book. Contents include:

Interview with Senator Frank Church
"Hang Down Your Head Tom Dooley" by Robert Scheer
"The Vietnam Lobby" by Robert Scheer and Warren Hinckle
"This Isn't Munich, It's Spain" by Bernard Fall
"The Winner's War" by Robert Scheer
"A Citizen's White Paper on Vietnam" by Marcus Raskin

These articles have created comment and controversy everywhere. They have affected Washington policy-making. They have made front porch conversation and front page news.

Drew Pearson devoted an entire column to "The Vietnam Lobby," calling it "a carefully detailed and very important story." Just recently Richard Starnes, syndicated Scripps-Howard columnist, praised Bernard Fall's report, "This Isn't Munich, It's Spain," as a "classical statement of true American aims in Southeast Asia."

The Vietnam Primer makes fascinating reading. Reading that will give you new knowledge and a new perspective on the most difficult and misunderstood moral, political and military problem of our time.

The Vietnam Primer is not for sale anywhere, at any price. But it's yours free with an introductory subscription to RAMPARTS. To get your copy before the limited supply is exhausted, mail the enclosed postage-free card today.

100-445393-21

Ramparts Menlo Park, California

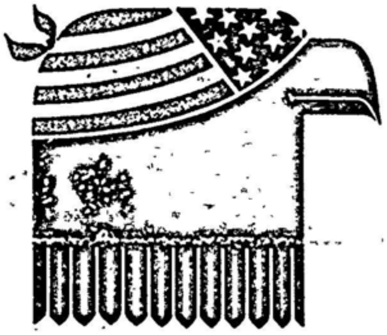
Ramparts

Menlo Park California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

The American eagle has grown a blindfold ...



... a blindfold woven of the veils of prejudice, ignorance and indifference that alienate man from man.

Our society basks comfortably in the dull gray glow of the television set; it is losing its commitment to care. But like the weather, nobody does anything about it.

RAMPARTS is the new, exciting monthly magazine that is doing something about it. And expresses its concern in a fiercely independent, refreshing fashion that has in turn alarmed, outraged and delighted readers across the country.

RAMPARTS probes, analyzes, dissects -- with often stunning candor -- those elements of society that tend to artificially separate men. Ghettos are ghettos, whether they be economic, social, political, cultural or religious. RAMPARTS is dedicated to breaking down those walls, and to building up the things that unite men -- literature, the arts, philosophy, the power of ideas that raise the mind and unfreeze the heart.

RAMPARTS takes no doctrinaire positions. It points out alternatives. It exposes hypocrisy. It dares to ask why.

RAMPARTS IS A MAGAZINE OF CHALLENGE

It began with a challenge to the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in America:

> "Get off the ball. You preach social justice and love for fellow men. But on racism, on poverty, on nuclear war, the Catholic Church stays comfortably silent, does little. You just don't want to rock the boat."

That challenge was issued by a Catholic layman, Edward M. Keating, the publisher of RAMPARTS. He founded RAMPARTS, in 1962, as a needed gadfly for "ghetto Catholicism." But the editors of RAMPARTS soon found that all ghettos were not the exclusive property of the church of Rome. Protestants and Jews lived the same short-sighted lives. So Jews like critic Leslie Fiedler and philosopher Abraham Heschel came into the pages of RAMPARTS. And Protestants like Robert McAfee Brown, professor of religion at Stanford University. The cherished illusions of all churches became subject to challenge.

(over, please)

The walls of separation between men are not confined to the inadequacies of organized religion. All the forces that make up the Establishment -- big government, big business, big labor, obsequity in literature, the reactionary in art, professional bureaucrats -- are, in the pages of RAMPARTS, subjects for unorthodox reporting and unabashedly stimulating articles.

RAMPARTS refuses to accept the traditional way of looking at issues. This fresh approach to magazine journalism is why RAMPARTS' editors told the story of Selma as a Civil War battle -- complete with battle maps, military organization charts and an intriguing moral: the Civil War isn't over, yet. And why RAMPARTS can calmly delineate the history of enmity of Arab for Jew, boldly discuss some blemishes in the legend of Dr. Tom Dooley, point out the social "menace" of Barbie dolls, or challenge physicians to think of their patients before their pocketbooks.

> "I only wish that more magazines had the guts RAMPARTS possesses," writes (Mrs.) Bette L. Stern of Los Angeles.

RAMPARTS IS A MAGAZINE OF CONTROVERSY

It is not only on top of the news. It makes news. When RAMPARTS speaks, people listen. After RAMPARTS published an unusually blunt interview with Senator Frank Church on the debacle of the United States policy in Vietnam, the New York Times deemed the interview worthy of a front page story in its Sunday edition and a lead editorial in Monday's paper.

After the slayings of the three Mississippi civil rights workers had gone unsolved for nearly a year, RAMPARTS sent a team of reporters into the Mississippi Delta to find the murderers. They found them. And the first "extra" in the magazine's history came out -- with the full terrifying story of the murders. RAMPARTS offered its evidence to the Justice Department, accused it of "dereliction of duty" in not acting. Within weeks, 21 Mississippians were indicted.

A nation-wide controversy was sparked when RAMPARTS published charges by a Roman Catholic priest that Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles was a reactionary who disciplined his clerics for speaking against racism. RAMPARTS was right in the middle of that fight. The fight continues. Wrote Robert R. Kirsch, the book editor of the Los Angeles Times:

> "Considering some of the pressures which have been exerted to keep RAMPARTS off the newsstands, it takes no little courage and concern to read it here in Southern California."

RAMPARTS IS A MAGAZINE OF CONSCIENCE

With a philosophical impetus stemming from the Judeo-Christian ethic, RAMPARTS brings together writers and critics -- Protestants, Catholics, Jews and agnostics -- who share a common moral indignation at the growing shapelessness of their society. Its editors and contributors are men of intense convictions. They speak out. They name names. They listen to one another. When they disagree, they disagree in stimulating exchanges of opinion that make for exciting reading rarely found in American periodicals.

Whether it is an American Indian documenting the continuing disgraceful treatment of his people; or a distinguished Johns Hopkins psychiatrist evaluating man's greatest curse; or a Protestant challenging Catholics to stop talking and start doing something about religious liberty; or a Jew discussing the "vanishing point" of his people's awareness of themselves as Jews -- readers of RAMPARTS become vibrantly engaged in an unspoken dialogue that sets off quiet explosions along the dark runways of the mind.

> "It is my fervent hope," wrote reader Ed LaRue, "that your noble experiment will prosper and so take its place among other worthy indices of a true spiritual awakening among human beings, today, to the urgent need of 'being human.'"

PROVOCATIVE AND CIVILIZED COVERAGE OF THE ARTS

The editors of RAMPARTS are uniquely appreciative of the wide range of interests of the literate person. RAMPARTS' pages are colored with the patina of the arts -- and extraordinary fragments of insight into human nature. Here is a sampling of recent RAMPARTS coverage of literature, music, art, theatre, history, cinema and American manners: full-color art section of the bizarre, wheeled sculpture of custom car designer Ed (Big Daddy) Roth ... the unpublished letters of the despairing François Poulenc ... an intimate portrait of Charlie Chaplin's reclining years ... a stunning pictorial account of the last days of the old-time New Orleans jazz men ... the inspiring temper tantrums of John Quincy Adams ... a great Russian film director reminisces about Ernest Hemingway in Spain ... the editors succumb to eight pages of unabashed nostalgia over Humphrey Bogart ... a Jew discusses "The Chanukah Hangup" ... a preview of Luis Bunel's new film ... a backhanded tour of New York's discotheques ... a radical theatrical troupe gets its productions off the stage and into the streets ... a moving account of the last six months of sociologist C. Wright Mills ... the new protest music and how it grew.

Fiction in RAMPARTS is of an essentially provocative nature (Leslie Fiedler's "The Last Jew in America" had national repercussions), and the editors are not averse to publishing portions of short novels -- Maude Hutchins' bizarre and highly acclaimed "Blood on The Doves" is scheduled this February; RAMPARTS prints works by poets of the calibre of Conrad Aiken, Allen Tate, Brother Antoninus, and John Berryman; art portfolios are frequent and of generous proportions.

RAMPARTS' characteristic independent opinions embrace the world of literature, too. A RAMPARTS contributor said of Dwight Macdonald: "A dealer in silly quarter truths." Another dismissed the Saturday Review as "Philistine." The book section, edited by jazz expert Ralph J. Gleason, is candid, often acidic, controversial and, of course, swinging. Critic Maxwell Geismar had this to say about Saul Bellow's highly acclaimed Herzog:

> "I regard the reception of this book as the greatest literary scandal of the year. All I can do to console myself is to remember that Mary McCarthy's The Group had the same reception, and both of these novels, I think, are complete sellouts, and both of these writers, by now, are completely commercial and corrupt."

A TRIAL OFFER

The editors of RAMPARTS -- Edward M. Keating, Leslie Fiedler, John Howard Griffin, Paul Jacobs, Martin Turnell, Maxwell Geismar, Robert McAfee Brown, Arthur A. Cohen, William Stringfellow and Wallace Fowlie -- join with me in inviting you to share the independent opinions of RAMPARTS at the special rate of six months for only $2.67 (regularly $4.50 on newsstands).

And if you act promptly, your subscription will begin in time to catch these upcoming features in RAMPARTS: "The Duncan Papers," the explosive diaries of a United States Special Forces hero in Vietnam. The publication of this document is expected to cause a national furor bigger than the storm over "The Green Berets" ... "Metropoly," a richly detailed, 26-page special report on the games the city leaders of Oakland, California play as their city smolders towards becoming "the next Watts" ... Paul Jacobs, author of the controversial "Is Curly Jewish?" writes on the lesser known attractions of tattooing... the "Gnosticism" of the National Review ... the story of the outrageous decline and fall of Maine's Passamaquoddy Indians... a historical account of Thoreau as the father-figure of the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations... Fred J. Cook's massive reevaluation of the Warren Commission Report on President Kennedy's assassination ... advertising man Howard Gossage humorously lambasts the foibles of his Madison Avenue fellow ... and special issues on "The Liberal Establishment in America"; "The Heartland of the Radical Right" in Orange County, California; and "The South Africa Syndrome" -- how the United States supports the economy of a racist nation.

It is this type of stimulating publishing, done with nerve and verve, that prompted Donald Stanley, the literary editor of The San Francisco Examiner, to write of RAMPARTS: "This magazine is bursting with imagination. Its articles are usually intelligent and sparkling; its presentation is surpassed by no other national publication. One doesn't just read RAMPARTS. One digs it."

> If you find RAMPARTS too candid, simply cancel your subscription within 10 days after receiving the first issue and pay nothing.

We invite you to share RAMPARTS' indignation, and enjoy its insights. A reader summed it up better than we ourselves can: "I enjoy RAMPARTS," he wrote, "because it is concerned about the REAL things that build up and tear down the world we all live in." You may become angry at some things we print. We hope you'll be delighted. But we can guarantee you this: you won't be indifferent.

Sincerely,

Warren Hinckle

Warren Hinckle
Executive Editor

WH:AFB

100-445393-X1

A VIETNAM PRIMER
Ramparts

IMPORTANT EXTRA!

By subscribing now you will receive a **free** copy of the new 96-page book, *A Vietnam Primer*, described in the accompanying flyer. To get this big double value, return the enclosed order card today.

5-113 (1-10-61)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/ b6
b7C

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

b6
b7C

Date March 3, 1966

Information previously received and disseminated concerning the efforts of [redacted] of "Ramparts" magazine, to arrange press conferences and/or public appearances of [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] have both been critical of our policy in Vietnam. Stone is apparently trying to gain publicity for sensational type articles appearing in "Ramparts."

We will continue to follow this matter and to furnish all pertinent information to the Department and interested agencies.

WLS:cwb WCS/

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 02-08-2011

~~SECRET~~

TELETYPE UNIT
MAR 3 1966
ENCODED MESSAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI NEW YORK

1239 AM URGENT 3-3-66 AXS

TO DIRECTOR ---1--- ---ENCODED---

FROM NEW YORK (157-1300) 2P

INTERNAL SECURITY-COMMUNIST

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE -IS - C

(S)

b1

[redacted]

17

END OF PAGE ONE

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

REC-21

16 MAR 4 1966

9/16/86

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~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 3/13/86

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

241

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50 MAR 14 1966

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE TWO

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WA....LRC

FBI WASH DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

MAILED

MAR 7 1966

1 - Name Check NAME CHECK
1 - [redacted] b6
b7C

March 3, 1966

"RAMPARTS MAGAZINE" - Summary
Publ. - Orig.

9 -

No investigation has been conducted by this Bureau concerning "Ramparts Magazine." However, this Bureau's files reveal that ~~it is a monthly magazine which has been~~ in publication since 1962, and it has very little standing. It has been characterized as an independent magazine of opinion and dissent. "Ramparts" is published by the Laymen's Press, Menlo Park, California. This Bureau's files contain no pertinent information regarding the Laymen's Press.

(62-104779-106)

Original and 1 - ACSI

WFW:clo
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/16/80 BY

EX-104

REC- 13 100-445393-2

4 MAR 8 1966

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

69 MAR 17 1966

TELETYPE UNIT
MAR 4 1966
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI NEW YORK

105 AM URGENT 3-4-66 AXS

TO DIRECTOR ---1---, SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES

FROM NEW YORK (157-1300) 3 P

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE IS - C

~~RE NY TEL THREE THREE SIXTY SIX.~~

ON MARCH THREE SIXTY SIX, SA, FBI, OBSERVED A RALLY WHICH WAS SPONSORED BY RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, THE FIFTHE AVENUE PEACE PARADE (COMMITTEE (FAFPPC) AND THE AD HOC COMMITTEE OF VETERANS FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM (AHCFPV) AND WHICH WAS HELD AT TOWN HALL, ONE TWO THREE WEST FORTY THREE STREET, NYC FROM APPROXIMATELY EIGHT TWENTY FIVE PM TO TEN FORTY FIVE PM APPROXIMATELY FOURTEEN HUNDRED INDIVIUALS WERE IN ATTENDANCE. RAMPARTS MAGAZINE IS A LAY CATHOLIC MAGAZINE WHICH IS PRINTED AT MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA. NO CHARACTERIZATIONS ARE AVAILABLE FOR THE FAPPC AND THE AHCFPV.

THE PURPOSE OF THE RALLY WAS OPPOSITION TO US POLICY IN VIETNAM.

THE LEASE FOR THE RALLY WAS MADE TO RAMPARTS MAGAZINE CARE OF IRVING BEININ, BUSINESS AND CIRCULATION MANAGER, NATIONAL GUARDIAN (NG) THE NG WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY IN ONE NINE FOURTY SEVEN AS A PROGRESSIVE WEEKLY. IS DENIES AFFILIATION WITH THE CP, BUT FROM THE BEGINNING IT HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF AS A VIRTUAL OFFICIAL PROPAGANDA ARM OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

END OF PAGE ONE

100-445393

133

REC-76

50 MAR 18 1966

14 MAR 10 1966

ALL [illegible] TAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/16/80 BY

PAGE TWO

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE RALLY WAS I. F. STONE, A WASHINGTON JOURNALIST, WHO BECAME A MEMBER OF THE CP IN THE MID NINETEEN THIRTIES SPEAKERS WHO DENOUNCED OUR POLICY IN VIETNAM INCLUDED I. F. STONE, DONALD DUNCAN, FORMER MASTER SERGEANT AND A GREEN BERET, WHO SERVED TEN YEARS IN THE US ARMY, SIX YEARS IN SPECIAL FORCES AND EIGHTEEN MONTHS IN VIETNAM, STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM, RAMPARTS CONSULTING EDITOR, AN ECONOMIST, CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND FORMER CAMPUS DIRECTOR, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY VIETNAM - ADVISORY GROUP AND SANDRA LEVINSON, A LECTURER AT CITY COLLEGE AND NYC EDITOR RAMPARTS, WHO READ A SPEECH OF JEAN LACOUTURE, STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE FRENCH NEWSPAPER, LE MONDE.

NO CHARACTERIZATION OF LE MONDE AND [redacted] ARE AVAILBLE.

b6
b7C

SHEINBAUM IN HIS REMARKS IN OPPOSING OUR POLICY IN VIETNAM STATED THAT COMPLETE INVESTIGATION ON HIS PART IN CAMBODIA REFLECTED THAT THERE IS NO HO CHI MINH TRAIL ISSUE IN CAMBODIA AND ALSO STATED,

END OF PAGE TWO

THAT THE UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD CAMBODIA IS AIMED AT VILATING ITS NEUTRALITY WITH THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF OCCUPYING AND USING CAMBODIA AS A STAGING AREA IN A WAR WITH CHINA.

THEABOVE SA, FBI OBSERVED [redacted] [redacted] IN ATTENDENCE AT THE RALLY.

b6
b7C

NO ARRESTS OR INCIDENTS TOOK PLACE.

SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES RESPECTIVELY, IF POSSIBLE, CHARACTERIZE RAMPARTS MAGAZINE AND [redacted]

LHM FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK

WA EFH

FBI WASH DC

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 3/8/66

REC 70

Transmit the following in ______

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - C

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

ReNYtel 3/4/66 concerning a rally at Town Hall, NYC, on 3/3/66 which protested our policy in Viet Nam.

Enclosed are ten copies of an LHM setting forth activity at the rally.

Copies of the LHM are being disseminated to the 108 INTC Group, ONI, OSI, the Secret Service and the USA, SDNY.

The SA who observed the rally was SA [redacted] and the source who observed it was [redacted]

(U)

b6
b7C
b7D

The rally was taped by [redacted] (protect by request) [redacted] who made available the taping to the NYO.

If the Bureau so desires and advises the NYO, this taping will be made available to the Bureau.

ENCLOSURE

1-932 DSK

4 - Bureau (Encls.10) (RM) 1-932 DSK
(1 - 100-445003) (AHCVPV)
3 - Los Angeles (Encls.3) (RM)
(1 - 100-) [redacted]
(1 - 100-)
3 - San Francisco (Encls.3) (RM)
(1 - 100-) ("RAMPARTS MAGAZINE")
(1 - 100-) [redacted]
1 - Washington Field (100-) (I.F. STONE) (Encl.1) (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (100-) [redacted]
1 - New York (100-)
1 - New York (100-) (FAPPC) (43)
1 - New York (100- 180) (AHCVPV) (43)
1 - New York

JET:bam
(17)

REC 70 100-445393-4

14 MAR 9 1966

b6
b7C

COPY FILED IN 100-445003

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI State Sec. Ser.
RAO
DATE FORW: 3/11/66
HOW FORW:
BY:

CLASS. & EXT BY SP1
REASON-FCIM II, 4-2-2
DATE OF REVIEW 3/4/86

Approved: ______ Sent ______ M Per ______

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

69 MAR 25 1966

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

No lead is being set forth for San Francisco to characterize "Ramparts Magazine" as requested in retel inasmuch as San Francisco by tel 3/4/66 advised the NYO that its characterization is adequate.

Los Angeles as requested in retel will, if possible, characterize [redacted]

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The LHM was classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect the identity of the source therein, revelation of which could have an adverse effect on the national defense interests of the United States.

No characterizations are available for the FAPPC and the AHCVPV.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
March 8, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ramparts Magazine

On March 3, 1966, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (SA, SFBI) observed a rally which was sponsored by "Ramparts Magazine", the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee (FAPPC) and the Ad Hoc Committee of Veterans for Peace in Vietnam (AHCVPV) and which was held at Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City from approximately 8:35 p.m. to 10:45 p.m.

Approximately 1400 people were in attendance at the rally.

The "New York Times", a New York City daily newspaper, in its issue of February 27, 1966, on page 22, Section 1, in an article by Lawrence E. Davies datelined February 26, 1966, at San Francisco, California, concerning "Ramparts Magazine" described it as a Roman Catholic lay magazine which has been in editorial hot water since 1962.

The article stated in part:

"Ramparts, in less than four years, has weathered storms of controversy within the Church including threats of legal action to try to block the publication of articles.

"Its editor in chief and publisher, while disavowing any original intention of making the Catholic hierachy a target of criticism, commented in an interview: 'The Catholic Church enjoys such a good press now that nobody wants to be unkind to it. So the only people who can be critical are Catholics themselves.'

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

7/16/82

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~
~~REASON-FCIM II~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group I~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

MAR 15 1966

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-445393-4

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ramparts Magazine

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Critical articles have not spared church leaders such as Cardinal Spellman of New York, James Francis Cardinal Mc Intyre of Los Angeles, bishops and priests.

"What I am really after 'Mr. Keating asserted, is for the church to practice what it preaches. I would extend that: the terms of the whole American tradition-for the country to practic what the Constitution preaches'".

The purpose of the rally was opposition to United States policy in Vietnam.

The lease for the rally was made to "Ramparts Magazine" care of Irving Beinin.

Irving Beinin

NY

The "National Guardian" (NG) in its issue of March 5, 1966, in its Masthead, described Irving Beinin as being in charge of Business and Circulation.

A characterization of the NG is in the Appendix.

The Chairman of the rally was I.F. Stone, a Washington journalist.

I.F. Stone

N.Y.

On June 26, 1950, a confidential source advised that I.F. Stone became a member of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) in the mid-1930's. The source stated that he secured information substantiating Stone's membership in the CP, USA from such CP, USA functionaries as Israel Amter and Jack Stachel.

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ramparts Magazine

N.Y
Vietnam

Speakers who denounced our policy in Vietnam included I.F. Stone; Donald Duncan, Military Editor, "Ramparts Magazine", former Master Sergeant and a Green Beret, who served ten years in the United States Army, six years in its Special Forces and eighteen months in Vietnam; Stanley K. Sheinbaum, Ramparts Consulting Editor, an economist, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and former Campus Director, Michigan State University Vietnam Advisory Group and Sandra Levinson, N.Y. a lecturer at the City College of New York and New York City Editor "Ramparts Magazine" who read a speech of Jean Lacoutre, Staff Correspondent of the French newspaper, "Le Monde". Mich. N.Y.

NO. LOC.

Sheinbaum in his remarks in opposing our policy in Vietnam stated that complete investigation on his part in Cambodia reflected there is no Ho Chi Minh issue in Cambodia, inasmuch as there is no Ho Chi Minh Trail and also stated that the United States policy toward Cambodia is aimed at violating its neutrality with the ultimate goal of occupying and using Cambodia as a staging area in a war with China.

[redacted] b6 b7C
[redacted] was observed in attendance at the rally.

(U)

On March 4, 1966, a confidential source, ~~who~~ has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Donald Duncan, in his talk, stated that he was a former teacher of guerrilla warfare before he went to Vietnam, that he went to Vietnam with enthusiasm, believing that the United States was right in its policy in Vietnam.

He said that after he was there he and other soldiers began to think that the Viet Cong was right and that they were more dedicated than we were.

He stated that when he was discharged from the United States Army, he felt that the National Liberation Front (NLF) had the good will of most of the people of Vietnam.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He said that the United States would have to negotiate with the NLF with the thought of leaving Vietnam.

That the people of the United States must not only protest our policy in Vietnam but they must back candidates at election time who would actively oppose our policy in Vietnam.

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES, AND PROFESSIONS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions:

> "National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions
>
> "1. Cited as a Communist front. (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1954 on the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions and held in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, April 26, 1950, originally released April 19, 1949, p. 2.)
>
> "2. Cited as a Communist front which is 'used to appeal to special occupational groups * * *' (Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

enc 4

~~#&2MMIYF#~~

56

TELETYPE UNIT
MAR 3 1966
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI NEW YORK

422 PM URGENT 3-3-66 JAM

TO DIRECTOR /4/

FROM NEW YORK 157-1300 5P

9-

REC 5

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE; IS-C

Cambodian Vietnam

RE BUREAU TEL TO NEW YORK MARCH THREE, SIXTYSIX.

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM, THE CENTER FOR STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA, THIS AM, HELD PRESS CONFERENCE AT HOTEL ALGONQUIN, NEW YORK CITY. REPRESENTED AT CONFERENCE WAS CBS TELEVISION NEWS, ASSOCIATED PRESS, AND FOUR UNIDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF THE PRESS. CONFERENCE ALSO ATTENDED BY SPECIAL AGENT OF FBI, USING SUITABLE PRETEXT.

SHEINBAUM ADVISED WAS IN SAIGON AND WORKED FOR DIEM GOVERNMENT, ONE NINE FIVE FOUR TO ONE NINE FIVE NINE AS PART OF MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY TEAM TO HELP SET UP GOVERNMENT. SINCE THAT TIME FOLLOWED VIETNAM SITUATION CLOSELY.

1954 - 1959

100-445393-5

REC 5

END PAGE ONE

5 MAR 16 1966

Copy to LA
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 3-11-66
by EHM/bld

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b7E

LHM to WH, Sec'y of State, Sec'y of Defense, DIR [redacted] and AG, 3/9/66

Xerox 3-11-66 EHM/bld

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/16/80 BY

53 MAR 31 1966

PAGE TWO

1 9 6 5

IN FALL OF ONE NINE SIX FIVE, BECAME INTERESTED IN UNITED STATES POLICY CONCERNING CAMBODIA, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO HO CHI MINH TRAIL ISSUE AND THE FACT THAT VIETCONG ALLEGEDLY USING CAMBODIA FOR SANCTUARY. IN FEBRUARY, ONE NINE SIX SIX, AFTER RECEIVING PERMISSION FROM CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT TRAVELLED THERE WITH WIFE AND ONE [redacted] [redacted] OF RAMPARTS MAGAZINE. MADE NUMEROUS RECONNAISSANCE TRIPS TO OBSERVE ALLEGED HO CHI MINH TRAIL VIA PLANE, JEEP AND FOOT. CLAIMS HE COULD DISCERN NO TRAIL GOING IN NORTH, SOUTH DIRECTION WHICH COULD POSSIBLY ACCOMMODATE SUPPLIES. CLAIMS AS A RESULT OF HIS INVESTIGATION HE CAN SAY THERE IS NO HO CHI MINH TRAIL. AT POINTS DESIGNATED BY MAPS IN AMERICAN PRESS AS BEING HO CHI MINH TRAIL, THERE IS UNDERBRUSH AND SOME FOOT PATHS, BUT IT WOULD BE COMPLETELY IMPRACTICABLE AS A SUPPLY LINE.

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WHEN ASKED BY A MEMBER OF THE PRESS HOW THE SUPPLIES REACHED VIETCONG, STATED HE FELT MOST CAME BY SEA TO MEKONG DELTA AREA. CLAIMS ROUTE ONE NINE WHICH RUNS EAST AND WEST COULD DEFINITELY NOT BE USED AS A SUPPLY LINE SINCE THE TERRAIN IS SUCH THAT A JEEP COULD NOT GET THROUGH AND IT IS CUT OFF FROM CAMBODIA BY A BLOWN UP BRIDGE. THE BRIDGE IS APPROXIMATELY FIVE MILES SHORT OF CAMBODIA.

END PAGE TWO

ASIDE FROM RECONNAISSANCE TRIPS, SHEINBAUM CLAIMS HE SPOKE TO NUMEROUS CAMBODIANS IN AREA OF ALLEGED HO CHI MINH TRIAL AND ALL DENIED HAVING OBSERVED ANY ACTIVITY OR SUPPLY MOVEMENTS. STATES HE PERSONALLY INTERVIEWED MANY OF THESE INDIVIDUALS WHO SPOKE FRENCH, BUT USED INTERPRETERS FOR OTHERS.

ON RECONNAISSANCE TRIPS AND INTERVIEWS WAS ALWAYS ACCOMPANIED BY CAMBODIAN CIVIL GOVERNOR OR MILITARY COMMANDER. STATES, HOWEVER, HE PERSONALLY DIRECTED RECONNAISSANCE AND WAS NOT DENIED ACCESS TO ANY AREAS DURING THIS PROJECT. ALSO CLAIMS AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR ACCOMPANIED HIM ON RECONNAISSANCE TRIP AND CONCURRED WITH HIM ON HIS FINDINGS. AFTER HIS STAY IN CAMBODIA AND AFTER CONFERRING WITH CAMBODIAN CABINET HE FEELS CAMBODIA HAS RECEIVED BAD PRESS IN UNITED STATES AND ACTUALLY WAS FORCED TO BREAK RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES SINCE THEY FELT THEY WERE BEING OBLIGATED BY FOREIGN AID.

SHEINBAUM CLAIMS THAT HO CHI MINH TRAIL ISSUE WAS MANUFACTURED BY THE UNITED STATES TO PREPARE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR A WAR WITH CAMBODIA. UNITED STATES HAS PROVIDED NO ACTUAL EVIDENCE THAT THERE IS SUCH A TRAIL AND NO FORMAL CHARGES HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE UNITED STATES AGAINST CAMBOIDA. CLAIMS THERE IS NO REASON WHY UNITED STATES SHOULD BE HOSTILE TO CAMBODIA, ALTHOUGH ADMITTED VIETCONG PROBABLY HAVE BEEN USING CAMBODIA BORDER FOR SANCTUARY. CLAIMS CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONDONE THIS, BUT VERY LITTLE THEY CAN DO. CANNOT DO PERFECTLY

PAGE FOUR

EFFICIENT JOB OF POLICING BORDER.

CLAIMS CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT FEEL CHINA IS A THREAT TO THEM, BUT THAT THEY ARE AFRAID OF VIETNAM AND THAILAND. THAILAND HAS BEEN HOSTILE TOWARD CAMBODIA FOR YEARS AND HAVE BEEN HAVING BORDER DISPUTES WITH THEM FOR A LONG TIME. CLAIMS THAILAND AND VIETNAM HAVE BEEN GUILTY OF AGGRESSION TOWARD CAMBODIA. THE CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT MAKES NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM AND WHILE SYMPATHIZES WITH VIETCONG THEY SUPPLY NO AID TO THEM.

ACCORDING TO SHEINBAUM, THERE ARE CURRENTLY FIFTEEN THOUSAND TROOPS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THAILAND AND WITHIN EIGHTEEN MONTHS THAILAND WILL BE IN THE WAR. CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT FEELS THAT IF THIS IS THE CASE IT WILL BE IN UNITED STATES INTEREST TO SECURE CAMBODIA.

CAMBODIA ALSO CLAIMS THAT THAILAND HAS BEEN AGGRESSIVE IN CAMBODIA INASMUCH AS THEY ARE TRYING TO CLAIM EIGHT CAMBODIAN PROVINCES, WHEN THEY WERE ACTUALLY AWARDED THREE SUCH PROVINCES BY THE FRENCH. CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT CLAIMS UNITED STATES IS ASSISTING THAILAND IN THEIR AGGRESSION BY PROVIDING SUPPLIES.

END PAGE FOUR

ALSO CLAIMS [redacted] RENDERING ASSISTANCE TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY PARTICIPATED IN A PLOT TO ASSASSINATE CURRENT CAMBODIAN RULER. CAMBODIA ALSO CLAIMS THERE IS A POLITICAL MOVEMENT WITHIN CAMBODIA TO OVERTHROW CURRENT LEADERSHIP AND THE UNITED STATES IS SUPPORTING IT. CAMBODIA AFRAID OF WAR WITH UNITED STATES, KNOWING CERTAIN THAILAND WILL JOIN AND ARE ALLEGEDLY AFRAID OF CURRENT HOT PURSUIT PROBLEM.

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CONCERNING MAP APPEARING IN CURRENT ISSUE OF "LIFE " MAGAZINE, CLAIMS "LIFE" CORRESPONDENT IS GOOD FRIEND AND MAP WAS IN COMPLETE ERROR SINCE IT WAS BASED ON MISINFORMATION.

THE UNITED STATES HAS PROVIDED NO EVIDENCE THAT A TRAIL ACTUALLY EXISTS.

NO MENTION WAS MADE OF PREMIER KY.

ALSO ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE WAS MARC STONE OF RAMPARTS, AND DONALD DUNCAN, FORMER ARMY SERGEANT WHO RECENTLY SERVED IN VIETNAM AND HAS MADE STATEMENTS ABOUT AMERICAN ATROCITIES IN VIETNAM.

COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO BY MAIL.

CORR PAGE 2 LAST LINE SHOULD READ "IS APPROXIMATELY FIVE MILES FHORT OF CAMBODIA"

END

JRL

FBI WASH DC

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

8

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

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b7C

F B I

REC- 107

Date: 3/16/66

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

9-1

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - C

Re NY teletype to Bureau dated 3/3/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 10 copies of a Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) concerning a press conference given by STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM in conjunction with Ramparts Magazine, at the Algonquin Hotel, NYC, NY, on 3/3/66.

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The Special Agent who attended the press conference was SA [redacted] Pretext used was that of a reporter for the Herald Tribune newspaper.

(U) The confidential source used to characterize [redacted] is [redacted] C

Copies of this LHM have been distributed locally to Secret Service, 108th Intelligence Group, OSI and ONI.

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b7C
b7D

3-Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM) ENCLOSURE
2-San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM)
1-New York

REC- 107 100-445393-6

WAW:mxm
(7)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.
ISD, [redacted] RAO, State [redacted]
DATE FORW: 3/18/66
HOW FORW: RS
BY: BAW:CJ

MAR 17 1966

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C. C. - WICK

CCAT+LHM 932 9+D
7/16/86

51 MAR 29 1966

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~
~~REASON-FCIM II,~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 3/16/86

Approved: ______________________ Special Agent in Charge

Sent ______________ M Per ____________

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
March 16, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/16/80 BY hec

Ramparts Magazine

On March 3, 1966, Stanley K. Sheinbaum of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, held a press conference at the Hotel Algonquin, 59 West 44th Street, New York City, New York. The conference was held by Mr. Sheinbaum in conjunction with Ramparts Magazine. Represented at the press conference was CBS Television News, Associated Press and four unidentified publications. Also present at the conference was a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, using a suitable pretext.

Mr. Sheinbaum advised the following:

Viet Nam

He was in Saigon working for the Diem Government from 1954 till 1959 as part of a Michigan State University team to help set up a Government. Since that time he followed the Vietnam situation very closely. In the fall of 1965, he became interested in United States policy concerning Cambodia, especially with regard to the Ho Chi Min Trail issue and the Vietcong's alleged use of Cambodia for sanctuary. In February, 1966, after receiving permission from the Cambodian Government, he travelled there with his wife and Robert Scheer, of Ramparts Magazine. After arriving there, he made numerous reconnaissance trips to observe the alleged Ho Chi Minh Trail. These trips were made via plane, jeep and foot. At no time during these reconnaissance trips could he discern any trail going in a north and south direction which could possibly accommodate supplies.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100 - 445393 - 6

ENCLOSURE

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At points designated as the Ho Chi Minh Trail on maps appearing in the American press, there is underbrush and some foot paths, but the area would be completely impractical for a supply line. He also spoke to numerous Cambodians in the area of the alleged Ho Chi Minh Trail and all denied having observed any activity or supply movements. He personally interviewed the French speaking natives of the area, but used interpreters for others. He feels, as a result of his investigation, he can say there is no such thing as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. He further stated that Route 19 which runs East and West could definitely not be used as a supply line, since the terrain is such that a jeep could not get through and it is cut off from Cambodia by a blown up bridge. The bridge is approximately five miles short of Cambodia.

Mr. Sheinbaum was accompanied on his reconnaissance trips and his interviews by Cambodian civil governors or military commanders. He personally directed the reconnaissance however and was not denied access to any areas during his investigation. He also claims the Australian Ambassador accompanied him several times and he concurred with him in his findings. The Cambodian Government also held a four hour Cabinet meeting for him wherein they expressed their desire for neutrality.

As a result of the aforementioned, Mr. Sheinbaum feels that the Ho Chi Minh Trail issue has been manufactured by the United States Government to prepare the American people for a war with Cambodia. The United States has provided no actual evidence that there is actually such a trail and no formal charges have been made by the United States against Cambodia. There is no reason why the United States should be hostile toward Cambodia although he admits the Vietcong have probably been using the Camboida border for sanctuary. He claims the Cambodian Government does not condone this but there is very little they can do since it is impossible to perfectly police the border.

When asked by a member of the press, exactly how supplies were reaching the Vietcong, he stated that he felt most were coming by sea to the Mekong Delta area.

Mr. Sheinbaum stated that the Cambodian Government does not feel China is a threat to them but they do fear Vietnam and Thailand. They make no distinction between North and South Vietnam and while they sympathize with the Vietcong, they render them no aid. They claim that Thailand has been hostile toward them for years as they have been having border disputes for a long time. Cambodia claims that Thailand has been trying to claim eight Cambodian provinces when they were actually given three such provinces by the French; in so doing they have been committing constanct acts of aggression.

They further claim that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has been rendering assistance to Thailand to the extent that they participated in a plot to assassinate the current Cambodian ruler. The Cambodian Government feels there is a political movement within their country to overthrow the current leadership and the United States Government is supporting this movement. They are afraid of a war with the United States, knowing certain that Thailand will join. They are also allegedly afraid of the current hot pursuit problem. Along these lines, Mr. Sheinbaum claims there are fifteen thousand United States troops in Thailand and he feels that within eighteen months Thailand will be in the Vietnam struggle. He states that the Cambodian Government feels that if this is the case, it will be in the interest of the United States to secure Cambodia.

Mr. Sheinbuam also referred to a map of Vietnam appearing in a recent edition of "Life" Magazine. He stated that the Ho Chi Minh Trail as depicted on the map was completely erroneous. He spoke to the correspondent responsible for the map; the correspondent had not actually seen the terrain but based the map on photographs and other such information.

Ramparts Magazine

[redacted]

In view of his investigation and the fact that the United States has never offered any evidence that the trail actually exists, Mr. Sheinbaum stated that the map was in complete error.

n.y.

In attendance at the meeting were Marc Stone of Ramparts Magazine who introduced Mr. Sheinbaum to members of the press, and Donald Duncan, former Special Forces master sergeant who has recently returned from Vietnam and made statements about American atrocities there.

n.y.

[redacted]

A confidential source, who has supplied reliable information in the past, advised on January 25, 1966, that [redacted] attended a meeting of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell (CSJFMS) on January 9, 1966, at Sobell Committee headquarters, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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A characterization of CSJFMS is attached hereto.

[redacted]

APPENDIX

1.

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon MORTON SOBEL', the ROSENBERGS' codefendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a Communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg - Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'..."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company on April 6, 1965, lists the "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" (CSJMS) as being located at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

[redacted]

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

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DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

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FBI

Date: 3/10/66

REC- 47

Transmit the following in ______________________ (Type in plaintext or code)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68155)(RUC)

RE: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS-C

00: San Francisco

Re New York teletype to Bureau 3/4/66.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are an original and seven copies of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination. Two copies are being furnished to New York and one copy to San Francisco for information.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by the following confidential informants: C

(U) Source 1 - [redacted] who orally furnished information to SA [redacted] at Santa Barbara, California, on 3/9/66.

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(U) Source 2 - [redacted]) (U)

Source 3 - [redacted] (documentation Women's Strike for Peace; and information concerning Discussion Unlimited - 100-63159)

C. D. DeLoach

1-932 Dsk.

3 - Bureau (Encs.-8)(REGISTERED) REC- 47 100-445373-7
2 - New York (157-1300)(Encs.-2)(REGISTERED)
1 - San Francisco (Info.)(Enc.-1)(REGISTERED)
1 - Los Angeles
GBP:rme/nlb

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI state, sec. per.
RAO ISD & CLO
DATE FORW: 3/15/66
HOW FORW: r/s
BY: [illegible]

8 MAR 12 1966

7/17/88 (8)

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY 501 DSK thc~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 (2)~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 3/16/88~~

ON ______________________

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

Approved: ______________________ Special Agent in Charge

Sent ________ M Per ______________________

54 APR 1 1966

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The letterhead memorandum is classified confidential because it contains information which tends to identify confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness.

For the information of the Bureau and interested offices, [redacted] has never been the subject of a Security Matter investigation, Los Angeles Division.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
March 10, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The following information was furnished by informants who have furnished reliable information in the past:

[illegible]

(U) On March 9, 1966, source I advised that [redacted] presently resides at [redacted]

[redacted]

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b7C

(U) On March 26, 1962, a second source advised that [redacted] was the guest lecturer at a meeting held on March 19, 1962, at the First Unitarian Church (see Appendix), 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California. This meeting was sponsored by Women's Strike for Peace (WSP), [redacted] delivered a lecture on the "Common Market."

(U) A third source, on November 9, 1965, stated that WSP is a peace-oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. In addition to its action seeking to

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~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 BSK/lhc~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 3/18/86~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE 100-445373 7

cause the removal of United States troops from these two countries, WSP has sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

(U) Source 3, on March 9, 1966, advised that Discussion Unlimited (DU) (see Appendix) is currently circulating a flyer announcing a public meeting to be held on Friday evening, March 18, 1966, in the auditorium of the Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, California, featuring a panel who will discuss the topic "Eye-Witness Reports From Vietnam." One of the speakers is identified in the flyer as Stanley K. Sheinbaum, who "...has just returned from the February, 1966 trip to Vietnam and Cambodia with Scheer (Robert Scheer, Foreign Editor, 'Ramparts' magazine). He is the former campus head of the Michigan State University, Vietnam Advisory Group. He tells the story, from intimate personal knowledge, of how the United States got involved in Vietnam. He is an economist in the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara." The DU flyer contained the following paragraph concerning Robert Scheer:

Calif

> "Robert Scheer has just returned from a February, 1966 trip to Vietnam and Cambodia. He is Foreign Editor of 'Ramparts' magazine and is a candidate for Congress in the Seventh District (Oakland-Berkeley), and is the author of 'Cuba: An American Tragedy,' and the forthcoming 'Vietnam Lobby.'"

(U) On March 9, 1966, the first source advised [redacted]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

[redacted] appears to have no sympathy for the Communist Party or communist principles.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 4, 1965, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, page 115, as a very active "Communist fronter" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

1

APPENDIX

DISCUSSION UNLIMITED

Records of the Division of Corporations, California State Department of Investments, Los Angeles, California, indicate that Discussion Unlimited filed its Articles of Incorporation as a nonprofit corporation, with the Secretary of State, Sacramento, California, on or about June 4, 1963, noting its principal site of office as Los Angeles County, California. The aims and purposes of the organization, as listed in the Articles of Incorporation, are "...to promote full and open discussion on our society and problems."

A source advised on May 8, 1963, that Discussion Unlimited actually was originated in Los Angeles, California, in May, 1962, and was composed largely of a number of present and former Communist Party members who assist in staging panel forums and in promoting such events. Original coordinator of the group was BERNARD LUSHER, who in 1961, was educational director of the Southern California District Communist Party.

This source was recontacted on April 9, 1965, and indicated that the basic concept of Discussion Unlimited has not changed. It continues to present "left ideas" to at least partially non-committed audiences. It proposes to develop special activities around various issues on an irregular basis. It is not a membership organization, and does not hold regular meetings as such, but rather is strictly a forum type organization.

SAC, Norfolk 3/24/66

Director, FBI 1 - Wells

a"RAMPARTS"
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(Internal Security)

Reurlet 3/1/66.

The Bureau has not investigated "Ramparts" magazine. During the past year it has carried articles extremely critical of U. S. policy toward Vietnam.

BAW:pah pah
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/7/80 BY

MAILED 4
MAR 23 1966
COMM-FBI

REC- 47 100-445313-8

19 MAR 24 1966

54 MAR 29 1966
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: 7/15/66

FROM : W. O. Cregar WOC

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY
USA

5-

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

7.2.

ACTION:

The above should be directed to the Internal Security Section for its attention.

sB

1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - W. O. Cregar

WOC:kmg kmg
(4)

7/17/80
~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 DSK/Lhc~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 7/13/86~~

100-3-22

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~
~~OTHERWISE~~

Memo.
Baumgardner to Sullivan
7-19-66

EX. - 117

REC- 27 100-445393-10

2 JUL 28 1966

[redacted]

54 AUG

100-445393-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
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EX-108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tolson
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Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

FROM : W. G. Shaw

DATE: 7/19/66

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Memorandum W. O. Cregar to Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. of 7/15/66, in captioned matter noted [redacted]

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

ACTION:

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

~~100-3-75~~

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

WGS:dmk
(4) dmk

REC- 27 100-445393-1

EX. - 117

JUL 28 1966

Calif Hayden Williams
Pres Asia Foundation

7/7/80

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 GSK~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 7/19/86~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~
~~OTHERWISE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to
San Francisco
7-27-66
WGS: dmk

Ramparts Magazine (100-445393)

80 AUG 12 1966

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

8

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ~~(100-68155)~~ DATE: 8/4/66

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS-C

ReBulet to San Francisco, 7/27/66.

[redacted] the Asia Foundation, 550 Kearney, San Francisco, California, was interviewed on 8/3/66. He advised that he vaguely recalls having read in either the San Francisco Examiner or the Chronicle during the past month to six weeks that one or two individuals whose names were familiar to him were present at a meeting or gathering, location unrecalled, at which a known Communist Party (CP) member was present. [redacted] advised that the article is very vague in his mind and he cannot be sure that the individuals whose names were familiar to him were employees of "RAMPARTS" magazine. He said that it is entirely possible that they were leaders or organizers of the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC), as in his mind he tends to consider individuals connected with "RAMPARTS" and the VDC in the same vein. [redacted] advised that he could recall nothing further about the article nor could he now recall names of any of these individuals mentioned.

b6
b7C

In view of the fact that [redacted] cannot furnish any specific information concerning the type of gathering, approximate date or city it took place nor identities and affiliations of those in attendance, it is recommended that no further investigative effort be expended. If any such article as that he referred to had appeared in the public press, it would have been clipped by the San Francisco Office and would have received handling appropriate to its importance.

2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco
FL:cg
(4)

REC-63 100-445393-12

5 AUG 8 1966

fd 2174 8/9C

51 AUG 12 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/17/80 BY

INT. SEC.

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, San Francisco

7/27/66

Director, FBI ~~(100-68155)~~ 100-445393-

1 - [redacted]

b6
b7C

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

WGS:dmk
(4) dmk

~~CLASS. & EXT BY~~ ~~SP1 45 Ohc~~
~~REASON-FCIM ... 1 2.4.2 2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 7/27/16~~

9/9/80

REC- 103 ~~100-68155~~ 100-445393-13

19 JUL 27 1966

NOTE:

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted] Bufiles contain no identifiable data regarding [redacted] [redacted] "Ramparts" magazine is an insignificant opinion magazine founded in 1962, and published monthly by Catholic Laymen's Press, Menlo Park, California. The magazine has been very critical of U.S. policy toward Vietnam. [redacted] [redacted]

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Tele. Room
Holmes

MAILED 6
JUL 2 6 1966
COMM-FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

55 AUG 2 1966

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

b6
b7C

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

8

8

Memorandum

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Sullivan
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Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Wick

FROM : M. A. Jones

DATE: 10-27-66

~~4/30/92~~
~~Classified by 9803 RDD/GCL~~
~~Declassify on: OADR~~ 6454
agree 2/23/93 9803 RDD/GCL re: JFK
2-25-93 9803 RDD/KSR RE: JFK

~~SECRET~~
~~CLASSIFIED BY 5668 SLD/GCL~~
~~DECLASSIFY ON: 25X (JFK)~~

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 10/27/..~~

SUBJECT: [redacted]
RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

5-Sent Assoc

BACKGROUND:

ARTICLE

A newspaper clipping from "The Washington Post" of 10-26-66 headlined "Magazines Attack, Back Warren Report" indicated that Ramparts magazine, in discussing critics of the Warren Commission, focused on at least 10 persons known to have been murdered, to have committed suicide or died in suspicious circumstances since the Kennedy assassination.

DECLASSIFIED BY 5668 SLD/GCL
ON 12/19/96 (JFK)
b3
b7E

[redacted]

The Director asked, "What do we know of [redacted]

~~CLASSIFIED BY 2909 ...~~
~~EXEMPT FROM ... 2+3~~
~~DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION ...~~
b6
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INFORMATION FROM BUFILES:

Ramparts Magazine and [redacted]

Bufiles indicate a letter dated 7-5-66 from the [redacted] which briefly describes Ramparts magazine as a monthly publication with a circulation claimed to be 65,000. The Editor-in-Chief, Edward M. Keating, claimed the publication was created to offer a platform for Catholic writers. In February, 1966, total financial backing was approximately $100,000. It is operated, in addition to the Board of Directors, by a 58 member staff.

(U) CALIF

Unclassified per [redacted] letter 9/23/98
SP6-Bjr/mde 1/17/89 #6454
b3
b7E

Bufiles describe [redacted] as a white male, born [redacted] [redacted] He is single [redacted] [redacted] He lists his occupation as [redacted]

[redacted] came to the Bureau's attention in July, 1964, when he alleged that he and [redacted] had been beaten at Philadelphia, Mississippi, on 7-14-64. [redacted] explained that he was preparing a story on the disappearance of three civil rights workers and [redacted] was accompanying him. He

100-445893-14

1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. DeLoach

ENCLOSURE

REC 7

NOV 8 1966

RWE:ncr (4)

58 NOV 18 1966

NOV 8 1966

~~SECRET~~

OVER

b6
b7C

Jones to Wick Memo
RE: [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

stated that after spending the morning in Philadelphia, Mississippi, he and [redacted] were attacked by several white males in the afternoon and he was punched in the eye. [redacted] was struck with a chain according to [redacted] talked briefly with law enforcement officers and then hastily left town.

[redacted] came to the attention of the Bureau in a "New York Herald Tribune" article dated 8-7-64 in connection with the three civil rights workers who were slain at Philadelphia, Mississippi. [redacted]

[redacted] again came to the Bureau's attention on 9-3-64 when he was interviewed by the Memphis Division in connection with a civil rights complaint wherein he advised that while traveling near Durant, Mississippi, on 8-31-64 in his car the left front vent of his car was shattered by some object. A garage attendant where he stopped suggested the vent had been shattered by a rifle missile possibly of ".22" caliber. [redacted] stated it was then that he first came to realize that someone had probably shot at him.

[redacted] explained that he had been in the State of Mississippi for approximately three months previously in connection with the Mississippi summer project and had been living in Jackson. He stated that he frequently traveled with both local Negroes and white Council of Federated Organizations workers. [redacted] went into great detail regarding his actions prior to and after the above-mentioned incident, but he could not furnish any specific details as to who might have shot at him.

[redacted] is again mentioned in Bufiles in connection with the Philadelphia, Mississippi, murders in connection with a magazine entitled "Mississippi Eyewitness" published by Ramparts magazine. The first-mentioned magazine contained several articles concerning Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney and one of them was written by [redacted]

[redacted] once again came to the Bureau's attention in December, 1965, at which time a confidential informant advised that [redacted] a visa for one month had been requested by [redacted] Ramparts magazine. ~~(S)~~ It was stated that [redacted] A representative of the U. S. Department of State advised in December, 1965, that the New York Passport Office was authorized on 12-1-65 to validate the passport of [redacted] for one round trip to Cuba with no time limit. ~~(S)~~ (U) Per State letter 2/21/84

~~SECRET~~

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OVER

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~~SECRET~~

Further checks indicated [redacted] had obtained a passport in December, 1959, at Seoul, Korea, restricted against travel to Albania, Hungary and those portions of China, Korea and Viet Nam under communist control. He stated at that time that his travel plans were indefinite. (U) Per State letter 2/21/84

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

~~SECRET~~

(Rev. 5-4-66)

Magazines Attack, Back Warren Report

A-2

Articles in two current magazines take up the theory that a conspiracy was behind the assassination of President Kennedy — one supporting such speculation and another undercutting it.

While exploring some territory gone over earlier by other critics of the Warren Commission, Ramparts magazine focuses on the "at least 10" persons "known to have been murdered, to have committed suicide or died in suspicious circumstances since the Kennedy assassination."

The accounts of the deaths are principally the work of Penn Jones Jr., editor of the Midlothian (Texas) Mirror.

At a news conference yesterday, Jones emphasized his belief that Lee Harvey Oswald was a "patsy" for an unidentified actual killer, or killers, and their co-conspirators. They, Jones reasoned, would have relied neither upon Oswald's "poor marksmanship" nor upon his rifle, which was of inferior design and defective to boot.

Also at the news conference was David Welsh, a Ramparts news editor, who wrote an accompanying piece in the magazine, detailing investigations carried on by members of the Ramparts' staff and others, in connection with the deaths.

It is the very defectiveness of the rifle that helped to persuade Dr. John K. Lattimer, a student of the medical aspects of presidential assassinations, that it was Oswald, and Oswald alone, who killed the President. Writing in the Oct. 24 Journal of the American Medical Association, the Columbia University urologist said:

"President Kennedy apparently sustained his second and fatal bullet wound in the back of the right side of his head, only because of a pair of unusual coincidences.

"The first was . . . that the telescopic sight of Oswald's rifle was aimed defectively, so that the bullets struck approximately 4 inches to the right of the aiming point and a little high.

"Coincidentally, however, the presidential automobile was following a course which curved to the right just enough to compensate for this error in the telescope.

"The second coincidence lay in the fact that President Kennedy was wearing not only a rigid metal and canvas back brace, but he had further reinforced its rigid support for the lower portion of his body by binding the brace to himself with an elastic knit bandage.

"The first bullet inflicted a nonfatal wound in the soft tissues of the neck. As a result of the unusual rigidity of his body, his torso did not crumple or topple over out of sight.

"Instead, his stiffened body merely tilted slightly sideways, leaving the back of his head exposed to Oswald's rifle with its telescopic sight."

Here are summaries from the Ramparts accounts of the deaths of some of the persons who had "crucial scraps of knowledge" and who "died mysteriously":

Jim Koethe, a young Dallas reporter, was apparently killed in his apartment by "a karate chop" to the neck. Robbery was the indicated motive, but his notes for an intended book on the assassination also were missing. Larry Earl Reno, 22, a former convict was arrested but "District Attorney Henry Wade secretly instructed the grand jurors not to indict" and they did not.

Bill Hunter was a Long Beach, Calif., reporter who covered the assassination and was killed April 23, 1964. He had been "seated at his desk in the press room of the Long Beach public safety building when Detective Creighton Wiggins Jr. burst into the room. A single bullet from Wiggins struck Hunter in the heart . . . Wiggins' story underwent several changes. His final version was that he and his partner had been playing cops and robbers with guns drawn when his gun started to slip from his hand and went off."

In eight other deaths, Ramparts questions official explanations including heart attacks, a suicide by hanging, a throat slitting in front of a broken plate glass window, and auto accidents.

Tolson
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Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

[redacted]

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/1/80 BY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE. 9/25/84 BY. SP7 Mac/ST

ENCLOSURE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 91-

REC 1

160-145393-14

The Washington Post and Times Herald A-2
~~The Washington Daily News~~
The Washington Evening Star
~~New York Daily News~~
New York Herald Tribune
New York Post
The New York Times
New York World Journal
New York World Journal Tribune
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date

~~8 NOV 7 1966~~

NOV 8 1966

Jones to Wick memo
10-27-66
[illegible]

~~ENCLOSURE~~

OCT 26 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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Staff Photos by Wally McNamee

DAVID WELSH
A news editor of Ramparts Magazine

PENN JONES JR.
Editor of the Midlothian, Texas, Mirror

... magazine supports Texas editor's claim that Kennedy assassination was never investigated thoroughly.

What do we know of
[redacted]

H

b6
b7C

0-19 (Rev. 5-4-66)

Tolson ✓
DeLoach ✓
Mohr ✓
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad ✓
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2 Editors Ask Reopening Of Assassination Probe

AP

The editor of a small-town Texas newpaper and a magazine editor joined today in calling on Congress to reopen the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy.

Penn Jones Jr., editor of the Midlothian (Tex.) Mirror, and David Welsh of Ramparts Magazine issued the call at a press conference here.

The press session was in connection with an article in the current issue of Ramparts that says at least 10 persons connected in some way to events related to the assassination have since met what the story calls violent or bizarre deaths. The editors also said a large number of potential witnesses have been intimidated into silence.

Kilgallen [illegible]

Welsh's article lists [illegible] persons [illegible] connected with the [illegible] assassination who have died. [illegible] Dorothy Kilgallen [illegible] Kilgallen, who died in November 1965 of a combination of barbiturates and alcohol, had interviewed Jack Ruby. She is reported by the author to have said during the last days of her life: "In five more days, I'm going to bust this case wide open."

The others [illegible] include those of two [illegible] Tom Howard, who was briefly Ruby's lawyer, Earlene Roberts, who managed Lee Harvey Oswald's rooming house.

Newsmen asked Jones and Welsh why the "mysterious deaths" were limited to these 10, while Jack Ruby, Marina Oswald and others much closer to the assassination events are still alive.

Welsh and Jones countered by saying that Dallas is impregnated with [illegible], [illegible] Ruby ought to be [illegible] transferred [illegible] Washington so [illegible] be [illegible] competent, and th[illegible] investigat[illegible] he [illegible] "tailed."

Cons[illegible]y Seen

Jones said he thinks there were two riflemen involved in a conspiracy to kill Kennedy, but he said he had no final evidence.

"They're still workin[illegible] assassination of Lincoln," [illegible] said.

Welsh added that [illegible] Dallas newspaperm[illegible] covered the case have moved to other jobs and that a third of the evidence in the assassination is being withheld. He blamed FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for suppression of most of the documents.

He is a liar.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/84 BY SP7 [illegible]

[redacted] b3 b7E

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-109[illegible]

REC 11

100-445393-[illegible]

6 NOV 7 1966

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Washington Evening Star A-3
New York Daily News FINAL
New York Herald Tribune
New York Post
The New York Times
New York World Journal
New York World Journal Tribune
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~DATE 7/17/80 BY [illegible]~~

NOV 18 1966

PERS. REC. UNIT

OCT 25 1966

December 29, 1966

REC-74 100-445393-16

-108

DEC 29

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of December 24th.

b6
b7C

Although I would like to be of assistance, information in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I am sure you will understand the reason for this policy.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 9
DEC 29 1966
COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/89 BY SP7 Mac/gt

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent, Ainmiller Strasse or Committee of Responsibility. Ramparts Magazine, Inc. accused the Director of suppressing most of the documents in the investigation of the assassination of former President Kennedy. [redacted]
[redacted]

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/1/80 BY~~

BGH:emm
(3) emm

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70 JAN 12 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1X 29

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~~ac~~

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25,
District of Columbia

24 December 1966

Gentlemen:

I am considering becoming involved in a project designed to bring Vietnamese children who have suffered severe burns due to the conflict in Vietnam to the United States for treatment and rehabilitation.

Prior to my involvement, I should like to know whether or not your office has information indicating that the following organizations or personnel associated with them are in anyway connected with agents or agencies of a domestic or foreign nature with intent to overthrow the government of the United States, or have been involved in any crime that may indicate that their project is other than one of a purely humanitarian nature.

Sec [illegible]

THE COMMITTEE OF RESPONSIBILITY
Box 424
Scarsdale, New York 10583

① RAMPARTS

② RAMPARTS MAGAZINE INC.
301 Broadway
San Francisco, California

MCT-8 100-445393-16

10 Sheridan Square
New York 14
New York

REC-74 18 DEC 30 1966

~~Ainmiller~~ Strasse
1/III 8 Munchen 13
Germany

EX-105

CORRESPONDENCE

Thanking you for your assistance, I remain

Yours sincerely:

[redacted]

mml
ack
12/29/66
BGH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/84 BY SP.7

FOIPA 249270

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mml

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

D

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 1/4/67

FROM : SAC, Detroit (100-0)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - C

Informant N.Y.

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b7D

On 12/22/66, [redacted] [redacted] made available the front page of the publication called "Ramparts Magazine", (published in San Francisco). He stated that in connection with his current employment he is a subscriber to the magazine. He stated that recently he received leaflets and propaganda from the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, Suite 1103, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, New York. He stated that he has an unlisted telephone number and was curious as to how the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell had secured his mailing address. He stated upon examining the address label on "Ramparts Magazine" and that on the literature received from the Sobell Committee, it was noted that both address labels contained almost identical mailing and subscription information. Further, his zip code number was identically erroneous on both labels. He stated it was obvious that the Sobell Committee had apparently secured a mailing list from "Ramparts Magazine".

This is furnished merely for information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/84 BY SP7 [illegible]

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~DATE 9/1/80 BY~~ ~~[illegible]~~

EX-108

REC. 73

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
1 - Detroit
IRA/cc
(5)

100-445393-17

JAN 6 1967

~~PERS. REC. UNIT~~

~~IRC~~ XEROX
JAN 25 1967

Recorded Branch. Pls. Xerox and in 100-387835 9Hrc

INT. SEC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-387835

JAN 2 1967 F393

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-01

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF b6 b7C

D

January 12, 1967

EX-103

REC 30 100-445393-18

Honorable Edward J. Meyers, Jr.
Judge
Whitley Circuit Court
82nd Indiana Judicial Circuit
Columbia City, Indiana 46725

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~DATE 9/25/84 BY SP7~~

My dear Judge:

Your letter of January 5th has been received.

With respect to your inquiry, I have instructed a representative of our Indianapolis Office to contact you and discuss your question with you.

JAN 17 4 53 PM '67

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 2
JAN 1 2 1967
COMM-FBI

3

1 - Indianapolis (Sent with airtel to Indianapolis, same date)

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. "Ramparts" magazine published an article in its May, 1965, issue by Fred J. Cook which was highly critical of the Bureau and Mr. Hoover. This magazine is described in Bufiles as a monthly publication created to offer a platform for Catholic writers. [redacted] [redacted] The magazine has been critical of the war in Vietnam and the sesults of the Warren Commission in its investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy.

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62 JAN 20 1967

JBT:PLJ (4)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~DATE 7/17/80 BY~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

10

EDWARD J. MEYERS, JR.
JUDGE, WHITLEY CIRCUIT COURT
82ND INDIANA JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
COLUMBIA CITY, INDIANA 46725

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 219
244-6031

Paw 9—

January 5, 1966

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Out of curosity I subscribed for a few months to the magazine "Ramparts." I find it to be a most questionable publication. Can you tell me whether it is considered to be subversive by your department or anything else about it.

Yours very truly,

Edward J. Meyers Jr.
EDWARD J. MEYERS, JR.
JUDGE, WHITLEY CIRCUIT COURT.

EJM/f

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/84 BY SP7 MOC/SJ

EX-103

REC 30 100-445393-18

15 JAN 13 1967

1-12-67 JBT:jelf
airtel to Indpls
Ack: 1-~~10~~ 12-67
JBT/mlf

CORRESPONDENCE

NAL FORM NO. 10
1962 EDITION
SA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GO RNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 02-08-2011

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44539 13

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS-C

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM suitable for dissemination concerning a press conference (S) held by Ramparts Magazine on 12/22/66.

The source referred to in the LHM is [redacted] (S) [redacted] who was contacted on 12/23/66. C

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The LHM is not being classified in view of the public nature of the press conference and the fact that the information furnished was made available to approximately 40 members of the press. It is noted that [redacted] [redacted] is the subject of Bufile 100-371447, NYfile 100-80523. He is a former member of the Communist Party and [redacted] for the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

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[redacted] is the subject of NYfile 100-159226. [redacted]

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[redacted]

Copies of the handouts, mentioned in the LHM, will maintained in the 1A Section of NYfile 167-1300.

1 Rm.

JAN 31 1967

1 Xerox copy LHM to Navy - 2/15/67

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP[illegible]~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 7/13/92

ENCL

[redacted]

3-Bureau (Encls. 8)(RM)
(1- [redacted]) [redacted]
1-San Francisco (Encl. 1)(INFO)(RM)
1-New York (157-1300)
1-New York (100-80523) [redacted]
1-New York (100-159226) [redacted]
1- [redacted]

REC 102

100-445393-19

~~INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~
~~OTHERWISE~~

JAN 16 1967

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MVD:dam
(8)

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AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI
RAO (15) State [redacted]
DATE FORW: 1-17-67
HOW FORW: RS
BY: [illegible]

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61 FEB 7 1967

~~INT. SEC.~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FILED IN

RECORDED

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/25/18 BY SP1 71[illegible]~~

New York, New York
January 13, 1967

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/7/10 BY [illegible]~~

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Rampart s Magazine

On December 23, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information concerning a press conference held by Ramparts Magazine at the World Church Center, 777 United Nations Plaza, on December 22, 1966.

Ramparts Magazine is a lay Catholic magazine with offices in San Francisco, California.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Source stated that the purpose of the press conference was to publicize an article by William F. Pepper, entitled "The Children of Vietnam." This article appears in the January, 1967, issue of Ramparts. Source stated that the conference had been announced by Marc Stone, New York representative of Ramparts, in a letter to various press associations.

N.Y

Source stated that the conference was attended by some 40 correspondents, including representatives of the ABC Television Network. Marc Stone, Warren Hinkle III, editor of Ramparts, Dr. Benjamin Spock, a medical doctor famed for his books on child care, and William Pepper, author of the article, were present on behalf of Ramparts.

The stated purpose of the conference was to make public an appeal by Ramparts Magazine to the United Nations Children's Fund to investigate conditions surrounding the wounding and killing of children in Vietnam as an outgrowth of the Vietnamese war. A copy of a letter from Warren Hinkle III, editor of Ramparts, to Mr. Henry Labouisse, Director, United Nations Children's Fund, was distributed to the press. In this letter Hinkle drew the attention of Labouisse to the article and suggested that the condition of the wounded children in Vietnam be investigated by the United Nations Children's Fund.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE
100-445393-19

Ramparts Magazine

Source stated that Pepper, who gave his age as 29, addressed the group. He described himself as a humanitarian and stated that he had travelled to Vietnam as a free-lance journalist. He said that he had returned to the United States in May, 1966. He remarked that he had become acquainted with Ramparts sometime after the trip when he finally decided to publish his impressions and findings. He added that he is studying for his PhD in Political Science at the "New School" (probably the New School for Social Research in New York City).

Source said that Pepper did not express any extreme comments about the Vietnamese war per se but that he confined his remarks to the scope of his article about the children of Vietnam.

Source added that Pepper seemed annoyed when he was asked by an Associated Press (AP) correspondent how he had gotten to Vietnam, whether he was a regular correspondent for Ramparts and why he had chosen Ramparts to publish his article. Source stated that his answers to these inquiries started out as vague remarks about "free-lancing" and "a desire to see things for himself." Source stated that he seemed vexed and dropped the subject of his relationship with Ramparts Magazine upon receiving a note which Marc Stone had hastily written and passed to him.

Source stated that he got the impression that Stone and Hinkle, who was silent throughout the conference, were rather tense about what Pepper might say concerning Ramparts.

Canada

Source ~~stated~~ that Pepper was again challenged by an AP correspondent when he stated that most of the statistics used by him in the article were obtained from Hugh Campbell, whom he described as a Canadian who had worked with the International Armistice Commission. According to source, the AP correspondent stated that he had phoned

Campbell that morning and had been told that he had never given or obtained any such statistics (about deaths and injuries in Vietnam). Pepper's reply to this was that "Campbell was backing out."

Source said that Pepper was saved from further embarrassment by a foreign correspondent who stated that it was futile to discuss the exact number of children in Vietnam. Source stated that Pepper seemed grateful for this statement and used the opportunity to launch into a humanitarian speech.

Source said that Dr. Spock, who had written the introduction to Pepper's article in Ramparts, made a short statement of accusation against "the crocodile tears of the State Department" and the war in Vietnam "that is morally wrong." Source stated that the conference ended with Marc Stone distributing pictures of injured Vietnamese children to whomever wanted them.

Source stated that printed material was distributed to the press at the conference. This material included:

1- A reprint of the Ramparts article entitled "The Children of Vietnam."

2- A press release bearing the name Ramparts and marked for release 11:00 a.m., Thursday, December 22, 1966, with the headline "Study Shows 250,000 South Vietnamese Children Killed in War, Thousands More Dying Without Treatment - United Nations Children's Fund Asked to Investigate." This release stated in part that Ramparts appealed to the United Nations Children's Fund to investigate Mr. Pepper's charges about the effect of American bombing and revealed that a group of prominent American doctors and other concerned citizens are organizing to transport napalm-burned Vietnamese children to the United States and care for them in United States medical facilities. The release described Pepper as a political scientist, Executive Director of the New Rochelle, New York, Commission on Human Rights and a faculty member of Mercy College, Dobbs Ferry, New York.

3- A document entitled "Resolution on the Vietnam War." This resolution, according to its contents, was adopted unanimously by the Advisory Committee of the Christian Peace Conference (ACCPC) in Sofia, Bulgaria, October, 1966.

4- A letter to Christians in the United States and its allies from the ACCPC.

5- A message from the Secretary General (of the UN) to Lord Brockway, Chairman, British Council for Peace in Vietnam, dated November 11, 1966.

6- A paper entitled "Resolutions on China by Churches." This document contains quotations from resolutions and statements by various church groups which advocate the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

7- A copy of the remarks made by William F. Pepper to the press during the conference.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 1/20/67

Transmit the following in ______________________ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ______ AIR MAIL (Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (94-367) (RUC)

END

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/25/84 BY~~

JUDGE EDWARD J. MEYERS, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE AND TOURS)

Re Bureau airtel 1/12/67.

Judge EDWARD J. MEYERS, JR., Whitley Circuit Court, Columbia City, Indiana, contacted 1/19/67, by SA [redacted] [redacted] in accordance with referenced airtel.

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Judge MEYERS said he realized shortly after sending his letter the FBI could not comment as to whether the "Ramparts" magazine was subversive. The public source material provided the Indianapolis Office was utilized in answering Judge MEYERS' inquiry. He said he was concerned with the content of the "Ramparts" publication and this motivated his writing. He expressed satisfaction and gratitude for the thoughtfulness of the FBI in responding to his inquiry.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/17/80 BY

REC 26

no action necessary

100-445393-20

JAN 23 1967

CORRESPONDENCE

3 - Bureau
1 - Indianapolis

MLA/pap
(4)

C. C. WICK

5 FEB 3 1967

Approved: ______ Special Agent in Charge Sent ______ M Per ______

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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1-12-67

Airtel

To: SAC, Indianapolis

From: Director, FBI

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE~~

IWD

JAN 17 1967

JUDGE EDWARD J. MEYERS, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE AND TOURS)
~~BUDED 1-23-67~~

Enclosed are two copies of Judge Meyers' letter to me and my reply to him, together with public source information available on the magazine "Ramparts" which will aid in answering his inquiry.

You should instruct a Special Agent from your office to contact Judge Meyers and advise him of this information as an answer to his questions. All answers should be based on available public source information.

"Ramparts" magazine published an article in its May, 1965, issue by Fred J. Cook which was highly critical of the Bureau and of me. This magazine is described in Bufiles as a monthly publication created to offer a platform for Catholic writers. [redacted] [redacted] The magazine has been critical of the war in Vietnam and of the results of the Warren Commission in its investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy.

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MAILED 17 JAN 1967 COMM-FBI

Enclosures (6)
Article from "Time" magazine 1-6-67 entitled "A Bomb in Every Issue"
Article from Washington Post & Times Herald 10-26-66 entitled "Magazines Attack, Back Warren Report."
Newspaper clipping from The Washington Evening Star 10-25-66 entitled "2 Editors Ask Reopening of Assassination Probe."

Red

EX-112 REC 54 100-445393-21

NOTE: Enclosure from "Time" magazine was obtained from information available in Bureau reference library.

Tolson
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Conrad
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Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

JBT:rlf (5)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/17/80~~

10 FEB 13 1967

~~TYKAL~~ 4716

57 FEB 20 1967 MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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Tolson
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Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan Sos

DATE: 1/31/67

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS

5 C. D. Brennan

This is the West Coast publication whose articles have been strongly left-wing and which have included strong criticism of the Bureau.

Referral/Consult

R. W. Smith

ACTION:

For information.

~~1 - Mr. DeLoach~~
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Liaison
~~1 - Mr. Papich~~

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[redacted]

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REC-75 100-445393-22

12 FEB 14 1967

EX 101

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FEB 15 1967

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53 FEB 17 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

1 - Mr. DeLoach

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 1/19/67

FROM : C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Kelly

SUBJECT: "MINUTEMEN"
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/25/84 BY SP7 Maek~~

CD

BACKGROUND:

San Francisco furnished an article captioned "The Minutemen, The Spirit of '66," which appeared in the January, 1967, edition of "Ramparts" magazine.

"Ramparts" is a monthly magazine with editorial offices at 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California. It was founded by Edward M. Keating, a Catholic layman, in 1962 and has contained criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church of America. "Ramparts" has expanded its criticism of organized religion to provide a commentary on politics and sociological conditions. It contains a news and editorial policy which is anti-establishment, anti-United States big business and anti-United States policy in Vietnam.

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This article was written by William W. Turner. [redacted]

[redacted]

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN [illegible] DATE 7/1/80 BY~~

REVIEW OF THE ARTICLE:

In the article Turner furnishes the history of the Minutemen organization and comments concerning the different individuals associated with this group. His article stresses the strength and the apparent danger of the Minutemen organization to the security of the U. S. He writes about the

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CONTINUED - OVER

JTK:dmt:jav
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100-445393

NOT RECORDED
145 JAN 27 1967

JAN 27 1967

61 FEB 9 1967

Memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan
RE: "MINUTEMEN"
62-107261

leader of the Minutemen organization, Robert B. DePugh. Turner states that the Minutemen organization makes the Communist Party "look like a ladies' kaffee klatsch" but that their potential danger is not realized by the FBI.

OBSERVATIONS:

Due to Turner's attitude toward the Bureau, it would be useless to contact him to set him straight. "Ramparts" magazine has been critical of the Bureau and thrives on articles of a sensational nature. Any contact with its representatives would undoubtedly be used by it to obtain publicity. Therefore, it is felt that no contact should be made with such representatives. No further action is necessary as this article merely represents another of Turner's attempts to smear the Bureau.

ACTION:

None. For information.

I concur. W.

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

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~~SECRET~~

February 15, 1967

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

In accordance with your request, there is enclosed data concerning a certain magazine which may be of interest to Mr. Bromley Smith.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent direct) - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Gale (sent direct) - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Rosen (sent direct) - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Sullivan (sent direct) - Enclosure

FEB 15 5 41 PH '67
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NOTE: Mr. Marvin Watson has requested that the data pertaining to "Ramparts" magazine be furnished in a blind memorandum.

DFC:bem/ksf
(9)

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~

7/11/80

Delivered to Mildred Stegall on 2/16/67

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ENCLOSURE

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100-446393 - 23

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10 FEB 20 1967

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DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

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February 15, 1967

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~~DATE OF REVIEW 2/15/87~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Ramparts" is a monthly magazine which has been in publication since 1962. Although extremely controversial in its views, it has very little standing in the publishing world. It is published at Menlo Park, California, and Mr. Edward Michael Keating is the Editor in Chief. This magazine has been self-described as "the Catholic journal of independent opinion" but has no official ties with the Catholic Church.

Mr. Keating has been an outspoken critic of the FBI, frequently making baseless charges or allegations concerning the work of that Bureau. In October, 1964, he publicly indicated he was willing to turn over to the Justice Department information he had obtained concerning the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. Upon being contacted, he stated he had never been in Mississippi, and that he had not personally obtained any evidence concerning that crime.

It was reported in July, 1965, that Mr. Keating was interested in traveling to Cuba for the alleged purpose of gathering information on religious life in that country. It was also noted at that time, that he hoped to have an interview with Prime Minister Fidel Castro. It is not known whether Mr. Keating did actually travel to Cuba.

More recently, Mr. Keating has frequently criticized U. S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and in Vietnam, making a number of speeches throughout the country in this regard.

2-2

Robert Scheer, who was born on [redacted] in New York City, is employed as Foreign Editor of "Ramparts" and is also a candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for U. S. Congressman from the 7th Congressional District of California.

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100-445393-2, 3

[redacted]

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DeLoach
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Conrad
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Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

1 - Mr. DeLoach-(sent with cover letter)
1 - Mr. Gale - (sent with cover letter)
1 - Mr. Rosen - (sent with cover letter)
1 - Mr. Sullivan (sent with cover letter
DFC:bem (9)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

"Ramparts" magazine

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

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The "San Francisco Examiner," San Francisco, California, reported on May 23, 1965, that Robert Scheer visited Cuba in "defiance" of the U.S. State Department during the Summer of 1964. More recently Mr. Scheer has been extremely active in denouncing U. S. policy toward Vietnam at demonstrations sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC). The VDC is self-described as a group of students, faculty and other members of the Bay area community opposed to American intervention in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and wherever else it may occur. (100-445393)

The March 4, 1966, issue of "The Daily Californian" reported Scheer's visit to Cambodia. It was reported that he had been sent there by "Ramparts" magazine and was alleged to have stated that Cambodia was not being used in any significant way by the Viet Cong in its war with the Vietnamese.

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(U) Stanley K. Sheinbaum, an economist at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and former Campus Director, Michigan State University, Vietnam Advisory Group, is a Consulting Editor of "Ramparts."

~~SECRET~~

He [redacted] [redacted] is known as an outspoken critic of U. S. policy in Vietnam. Recently, he made a trip to Southeast Asia for "Ramparts" for the purpose of finding out what is going on there since he is reported to have said, "I can't get the information from the American press." (100-445310-109, p 2 & 3)

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[redacted] In criticizing United States Vietnam policies, Sheinbaum is alleged to have been a speaker at several protest meetings on Vietnam policy held in California during May and November, 1965, and in March, 1966. (100-439977-22)

In connection with his trip to Southeast Asia, Sheinbaum held a press conference at New York City on March 3, 1966, at which time he stated he had made numerous reconnaissance trips along the Cambodian border in an attempt to substantiate the allegations that the Viet Cong are using the Ho Chi Minh Trail to supply their forces in South Vietnam. As a result of his investigation, he has stated that he is convinced there is no such route and that the Ho Chi Minh Trail issue was "manufactured by the United States to prepare the American people for a war with Cambodia." During this press conference, he is also alleged to have stated that a map appearing in a recent issue of "Life" magazine which purports to show the Ho Chi Minh Trail is in complete error as it is based on misinformation. (100-445393-6)

According to information received, [redacted] [redacted] was invited to attend Sheinbaum's press conference. [redacted] ~~C~~

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The name Stanley Sheinbaum appeared on a leaflet distributed by the November 8 Mobilization Committee during October, 1966, protesting the United States role in the war in Vietnam. According to information developed, this organization has conducted frequent protest demonstrations. [redacted]

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G. M. Feigen is reportedly listed as a member of the Board of Directors of "Ramparts" magazine. One Dr. Gerald Mason Feigen, a Proctologist in San Francisco, California, who was born on December 28, 1912, in Paterson, New Jersey, reportedly received a medical discharge in 1943 from the United States Army Medical Corps when he was declared unfit for general service when the medical board found him to have "hallucinatory experiences,' most of which had a sexual background, that is, desires and thoughts for abnormal sexual relationships." This condition was not judged service connected inasmuch as he had been receiving treatment for it prior to his entrance into the United States Army in June, 1941.

Joseph Ippolito is reportedly listed as a member of the Board of Directors of "Ramparts" magazine. [redacted]

Robert McAfee Brown is reportedly listed as an Associate Editor of "Ramparts" magazine. He is alleged to have signed an editorial which appeared in the June, 1965, issue of "Christianity in Crisis" assailing United States policy and military action in Vietnam. He is also alleged in 1964 to have been one of the sponsors of the National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. That organization has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as communist inspired and as numbering communists among its national leaders. He was reportedly a professor of Religion at Stanford University.

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Jessica Mitford Treuhaft is reportedly listed as an Associate Editor of "Ramparts" magazine [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

"Ramparts" magazine

~~SECRET~~

Donald Duncan is reportedly listed as a Contributing Editor to "Ramparts" magazine. [redacted]

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Thomas Bransten is reportedly listed as a Contributing Editor to "Ramparts" magazine [redacted] According to information received, he is the Paris editor of "Ramparts" and had been a reporter for the Paris edition of the "New York Herald Tribune."

Saul Landau is reportedly listed as a Staff Writer for "Ramparts" magazine. [redacted] he has made various appearances throughout the United States lecturing in defense of Castro and criticizing the United States Government for trade restrictions imposed against Cuba. [redacted] [redacted]

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

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Tolson
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Callahan
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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Wick

FROM : M. A. Jones

DATE: 2-16-67

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/25/84 BY SP7~~

~~CLASSIFIED BY:~~
~~DECLASSIFY ON: OADR~~

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Pursuant to the Director's request, the following is a resume drawn from Bureau files of captioned magazine.

"Ramparts" is a monthly magazine which has been published since 1962 and is extremely controversial. It is published at Menlo Park, California, and Mr. Edward Michael Keating is the Editor in Chief. This magazine has been self-described as "the Catholic journal of independent opinion" but has no official ties with the Catholic Church.

Keating has been an outspoken critic of the FBI, frequently making baseless charges or allegations concerning the work of the Bureau. In 1964 he falsely indicated he had information concerning the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. He has recently criticized United States intervention in the Dominican Republic and in Vietnam.

~~Among others reportedly connected with the magazine~~ is Robert Scheer, Foreign Editor, who was a candidate for the ~~Democratic Party nomination for United States Congressman from the~~ 7th Congressional District of California. [redacted] He has recently been active in denouncing United States policy toward Vietnam and supposedly visited Cambodia last year.

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REC-D WICK
EBI REC-50

100-445393-24

FEB 21 1967

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick

CONTINUED - OVER

TDH:ksf
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~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/17/80 BY~~

CRIME RESEARCH

PERS. REC. UNIT

59MAR 8 1967

Stanley K. Sheinbaum, Consulting Editor, is another outspoken critic of United States policy in Vietnam and has been a speaker at several "protest meetings" in California during 1965 and 1966.

Among the reported Board of Directors of "Ramparts" are G. M. Feigen and Joseph Ippolito. [redacted]

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Robert McAfee Brown, allegedly one of the sponsors of the National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as communist inspired) and Jessica Mitford Treuhaft, [redacted] are Associate Editors.

Donald Duncan, who opposes United States military efforts in Vietnam, and Thomas Bransten, [redacted] are Contributing Editors.

Saul Landau, a Staff Writer, has been a long-time supporter of the Castro government and his wife, Nina Serrano Landau, [redacted]

William W. Turner [redacted] is also a writer for this magazine. [redacted]

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For the Director's information.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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b7C

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - R. D. Cotter
1 - R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/16/67

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1MSK/lic 7/7/80~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 2/16/87~~

SUBJECT [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

Sullivan
2/18/67
SJP:jad

SJP:rab (11)

100-428539

CONTINUED - OVER

NOT RECORDED
87 FEB 24 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

6 FEB 24 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

62 FEB 28 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN

62-80750-

Referral/Consult

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

ACTION:

Referral/Consult

For information.

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY, 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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~~SECRET~~

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

DATE: February 14, 1967

FROM : D. J. BRENNAN, JR.

SUBJECT: THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

~~CLASSIFIED BY SP17Mac/gH~~
~~DECLASSIFY ON: OADR~~
9/25/84

9803 RDD/MG
7/6/93 C.A. #88-1826

~~Classified by SP-8 BHS/NM~~
~~Declassify on: OADR 8/2/83~~
SP7 ALC/Acm
11/1/94 C.A. #88-1826
CLASSIFICATION REVIEW
12/94

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

WOC:hke
(6)
1-Mr. DeLoach
1-Mr. Sullivan
1-Mr. C. D. Brennan
1-Liaison
1-Mr. Cregar

CONTINUED - OVER

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP/ALC/Acm~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
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~~OTHERWISE~~

11 FEB 16 1967

~~SECRET~~

100-445393
NOT RECORDED
133 FEB 16 1967

Cregar
Liaison

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-346566

Memorandum from Mr. Brennan to Mr. Sullivan
RE: THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

ACTION:

For information. [redacted]

[redacted]

b7D

~~SECRET~~

SAC, Denver

2/2/67

Director, FBI (100-415762)

1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. R. S. Garner
1 - Miss Butler
1 - Publications Subscriptions Control Folder

PUBLICATIONS - HANDLING OF BY
RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

"Ramparts," formerly claimed to be a Catholic lay magazine (1962-1964), is now self described as "part of the liberal press." This monthly is published by Ramparts Magazine, Inc., 1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colorado 80302; a yearly subscription is $7.

You are authorized to arrange discreetly for one subscription, for one year, to "Ramparts" for the use of the Bureau. Issues should be forwarded promptly, on a regular basis, to the Bureau marked to the attention of the Research-Satellite Section, Domestic Intelligence Division.

The instructions set forth in the Manual of Rules and Regulations, Part II, Section 6 H4, page 8a, should be followed in handling the above subscription.

The Bureau should be advised 60 days prior to the expiration of this initial subscription to allow sufficient time to consider renewal.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-415762

1 - Internal Security Section, Domestic Intelligence Division
(Route through for review)

1 - Mr. H. B. Dew ([illegible], ID

① - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

AMB:vjr
(12)

DATE 9/25/84 BY SP FOIPA 24922

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NOT RECORDED
100 FEB 8 1967

NOTE: SA B. A. Wells, Internal Security Section, is requesting subscription to have available additional coverage of international news by the liberal press. "Ramparts," formerly claimed to be a Catholic lay magazine (1962-1964), is now self described as "part of the liberal press." The magazine has left wing policy toward Vietnam and is very anti-Bureau. After routing, the magazine will be filed in Publications Files, Identification Building.

FEB 14 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/17/80 BY

4-572 (Rev. 7-18-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27.

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: MARCH 1, 1967

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page A961. Congressman Bennett, (D) Florida, placed in the Record a news article written by Carl T. Rowan which appeared in the Washington Star on February 24th. Mr. Rowan made reference to a report out of Prague, Czechoslovakia, which was passed among several top officials in Washington. Mr. Rowan stated "It said that an editor of Ramparts magazine had come to Prague and held 'a long, secret session' with officers of the Communist-controlled International Union of Students. Ramparts is the magazine that exposed the fact that the CIA has been financing the National Students Association, - - - -. I learned that the Prague visitor was supposed to be Robert Scheer, Ramparts' managing editor."

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/26/84 BY SP1 Mac/gt~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/17/80 BY

100-445393 -
NOT RECORDED
102 MAR 13 1967

55 MAR 17 1967

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for February 28, 1967 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

Original filed in: 66-1791-3035

4-528

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/25/84 BY SP7 Moe [illegible]

100-445393-25

CHANGED TO

62-111839-X1

MAY 11 1971

mt/mB

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
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Tele. Room
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Gandy

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TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: 2/23/67

FROM : S. J. Papich

1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS

C.D. Brennan

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

1) [redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted] [redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

2) [redacted]

[redacted]

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~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

SJP:rab
(4)

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONTINUED OVER

REC 69

100-445313-26

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE 3

10 FEB 28 1967

MAR 1 7 1967

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3) [redacted]

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4) "Another FBI source reported on 31 January 1966 that a Communist Party meeting was held [redacted] [redacted], during which Gus Hall, National Officer of the Communist Party, USA, stated that the party had made a decision in this district that their chief emphasis would be [redacted] [redacted] Hall instructed that as many youths as possible should become involved in this campaign."

[redacted]

5) [redacted]

6) "An FBI report of 31 May 1962 stated that the 12 December, 1961 issue of The Daily Californian, the student newspaper of the University of California, contained a letter which described as a "smear" a Daily Californian editorial critical of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The letter was signed by Scheer and one Barbara Garson. [redacted] An FBI source reported on 11 May 1960 that the Young Socialist Assiance was dominated and controlled by the Socialist Workers Party, an organization designated by the U.S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450." (Bureau memorandum dated 5/31/62 captioned "Student Council Fair Play for Cuba Committee.")

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum S. J. Papich to D. J. Brennan, Jr.
RE: RAMPARTS

ACTION:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The above information is being directed to the attention of the Internal Security Section.

ADDENDUM INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION JHK:pdb 2/24/67

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

B

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. D.J. Brennan

: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: February 18, 1967

OM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

JBJECT: [redacted]

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

CONTINUED - OVER

SEE ADDENDUM PAGES TWO AND THREE

SJP:javs

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

FEB 24 1967

100-445393

NOT RECORDED
87 FEB 24 1967

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 2/18/87

CONFIDENTIAL

79 FEB 27 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-80750-4536

B D

Memorandum D.J. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan
RE: [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

ACTION:

For information. ✓ W.C.S.

Referral/Consult

✓

ADDENDUM: WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN:hrt 2-20-67 WCS

[redacted]

ADDENDUM (continued page 3)

over

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

B D

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SULLIVAN
RE: [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Referral/Consult

ADDENDUM: (continued)

[redacted]

Very true.
H

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

0-19 (Rev. 12-9-66)

REC 54

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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BROKE STORY ON CIA-STUDENT TIE-UP

Ramparts Magazine Admits It's Muckraker

By RICHARD H. BOYCE
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Ramparts magazine, the publication that pulled the cork on the Central Intelligence Agency's secret subsidizing of student groups, is "a spiritual descendant of the best muckrakers in history."

So says James F. Colaianni, assistant publisher of the San Francisco based slick color monthly. Mr. Colaianni added, in a telephone interview today:

"We are anti-CIA. That's our policy. How do you like the impact of that CIA story, right up to the White House?"

He referred to President Johnson's order for review of CIA clandestine financing of the National Student Association and other student groups, which first was brought to public attention by an article in the upcoming issue of Ramparts. The magazine is "delighted" with the President's action.

This was not Ramparts' first disclosure of CIA-campus ties. Last April, it revealed that five CIA agents were part of a Michigan State University aid mission to South Vietnam which trained Saigon's police force.

DISSENT

Ramparts calls itself an independent liberal magazine of dissent. Besides disapproving the CIA's activities, it opposes U. S. policy in Vietnam — "We called for U. S. withdrawal when no one else did" — wants the House Un-American Activities Committee abolished, condemned Mr. Johnson for sending troops to the Dominican Republic when it was threatened by a communist takeover, urges admission of communist China to the United Nations and believes President Kennedy's assassination was part of a gigantic conspiracy.

But its editor, Warren Hinckle, 28, explained:

"It isn't so much that we are against the CIA as such. We believe there should be a give and take of all kinds of interest groups in this country and we are concerned at such widespread — and still spreading secret control by the Government of so many so-called independent public institutions. This penetration undermines their independence."

Asked whether this isn't also the viewpoint of the John Birch Society, Mr. Hinckle replied:

"The right wing isn't necessarily so terrible. It wasn't the right wing or the military that got us into Vietnam — and Ramparts has been very, very critical of that. It was the Arthur Schlesingers and the Jack Kennedys.

"American liberalism today is a corrupted, decaying, sluggish, stagnant doctrine that has only a rhetoric but no means of fitting itself to reality. It is time for a re-examination of its basic policies.

"The great tragedy, the stupidity, of this CIA penetration is that after all these years it turns out that our supposedly free students have been tied to a secret Government apparatus just as we have been accusing the communists of doing."

Ramparts was founded in 1962 as a Roman Catholic lay magazine. In the words of its publisher, 42 year old Edward K. Keating, "we started out defending Christianity; now we seem to be attacking almost everything."

Its first policy was to create "a platform" for Catholic writers, says Mr. Keating. "Now instead of being Catholic with a capital C we are Catholic with a small C."

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

CC TO [redacted]
REQ. REC'D
SEP 15 1967
ANS.
BY:

[redacted]

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NB

The Washington Post
Times Herald
The Washington Daily News 10
The Evening Star (Washington)
The Sunday Star (Washington)
~~Daily News (New York)~~
Sunday News (New York)
~~New York Post~~
The New York Times
World Journal Tribune
(New York)
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World

Date FEB 17 1967

EX 101
REC 54 100-

55 MAR 6 1967

NOT RECORDED

[redacted]

"We want the Church to practice what it preaches and we extend that in terms of the whole American tradition, for the country to practice what the Constitution preaches."

Only a handful of the 50-man staff now are Catholics and the magazine has no religious flavor or church backing. Seven individuals, including Mr. Keating, a former realty investor, have put an estimated $1.2 million into it. At 75 cents a copy, its circulation is now about 190,000 and the CIA story is expected to increase that to 225,000 this issue.

LITTLE ADVERTISING

But the magazine has almost no advertising, and staggers from issue to issue thru a sea of red ink. Sometimes it just quietly skips putting out an issue, for financial reasons.

Not everyone approves of the magazine. A Michigan State University professor said "it prints lies" and called it "an outspoken advocate of the Viet Cong."

Cal X

A former editor, Ralph J. Geason, now a consultant, said: "There are no communists on Ramparts but all the staff are radicals. Many have little or no professional experience and sometimes don't let facts stand in their way."

[redacted]

To this Mr. Hinkle countered:

"The only people who cry 'hatchet job' are those who have been hatcheted. Every major story has stood up. We've never been sued or asked for a retraction. Our research is careful. Eleven people worked on the CIA story for two months."

He predicted future issues would "look into other public institutions — some of them are foundations — which we suspect are secretly connected to the Government."

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan

W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 2/17/67

C. D. Brennan

1 - DJ Brennan
1 - CD Brennan
1 - BA Wells

[redacted]

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

We have not investigated "Ramparts" magazine. It was established in 1962 by Edward M. Keating, a former realty investor and attorney. Keating is presently listed as its Publisher and Editor-in-Chief. "Ramparts" is headquartered at 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California. It recently claimed a circulation of 190,000 per month.

Keating has stated that the magazine was established to provide a platform for Catholic writers; however, he later invited contributions from "Protestants, Jews and agnostics" when he found there were few Catholic writers and intellectuals around. "Ramparts" caters to the sensational-type article and during the past years has devoted a large amount of space to articles critical of United States policy toward Vietnam.

This is the same magazine which carried an article written by a disgruntled former Agent, William Turner, in which he exposed and was highly critical of the Bureau's role in wiretapping and other intelligence techniques.

"Ramparts" calls itself an "independent liberal magazine of dissent." It opposes our Vietnam policy; wants the House Committee on Un-American Activities abolished; condemned United States action in the Dominican Republic; and urges the admission of Red China to the United Nations.

"Ramparts" staff includes such individuals as Paul Jacobs, a self-admitted former member of the Young Communist

1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")
1 - 100-346566 (National Student Association)
BAW:pdb
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100-445393
NOT RECORDED
87 FEB 24 1967

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62 FEB 28 1967

Referral/Consult

League and the Revolutionary Workers League, both of which have been cited by the Attorney General; Robert Scheer, a former member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a pro-Castro organization, who has been highly critical of our Vietnam policy; Jessica Mitford, a former member of the Communist Party; Dr. Carlton C. Goodlett, a Negro physician and newspaper publisher and a former member of the Communist Party; Dr. Gerald M. Feigan, who received a discharge from the Army in 1943 for psychiatric reasons; Don Rothenberg, a former member of the Communist Party who has been extremely active in the liberal Democratic Party faction in California; [redacted]

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A "Ramparts" spokesman was quoted in "The Washington Daily News," 2/17/67, as stating that "Ramparts" is "a spiritual descendant of the best muckrakers in history." A former editor was quoted as stating that all of the "Ramparts" staff are "radicals" and that many of them "don't let facts stand in their way."

ACTION:

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-08-2011

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FORM NO. 10
1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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REC-14

TO : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: 3/7/67

REFERRAL DOCUMENT
FOI/PA # 249270
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACT. #
E.O. # 12356
DATE 10/2/84 INITIALS

FROM : S. J. Papich

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS"

C. D. Brennan

[redacted] advised the Liaison Agent on 3/3/67 that the Bureau may be interested in retaining the following described items enclosed herewith for possible future reference. ~~S~~(U)

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(1) Identities of individuals on masthead of the captioned publication and contributors. ~~S~~(U)

(2) A list of individuals connected with Radical Education Project. Some of these allegedly are associated with "Ramparts." ~~S~~(U)

(3) An undated circular allegedly published by the Radical Education Project which describes the organization and objectives of the Radical Education Project. (U)

ACTION:

Para 1 2 3 4 Declassified per [redacted] letter dated 11/13/85 #285-011

b3
b7E

The above information and enclosures are being directed to the attention of the Internal Security Section. U

3 Enc.

SJP:jad
(4)

~~9145/c=fg~~
~~12/3/85~~
#285-0116
SP-7mac/BS 3-20-89
#290,858

~~CLASSIFIED BY SP7Mac/gtt~~
~~DECLASSIFY ON: OADR~~
~~FOIPA 249270 9/27/84~~

1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
1 - S. J. Papich

EX-112
REC-14 100-445393-211

14 MAR 9 1967

Derivative from
CIA: p.1, para 1-4
Class: Secret by ~~2333~~
~~[illegible]~~

5-710

~~CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 2333 2/26/79 GJ/ch~~
~~REASON FOR EXTENSION FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2 2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 3/2/99~~

61 MAR 20 1967

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ENCLOSED

Radical Education Project
510 EAST WILLIAM STREET • ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48108 • 313 761-1320

An Independent education, research and publication program, Initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, devoted to the cause of democratic radicalism and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America.

Dear Friend,

The Radical Education Project (REP), initiated by SDS, has been organized as an intellectual center for the American New Left. Through documentation and analysis REP seeks to deepen radical left opposition in this country.

Its growth reflects a recognition by activists in the movement that opposition requires more than passion and idealism.

> Intellectually, we must equip outrage with precision. We need concrete analysis, documented critique, and clear proposals for change.
>
> Organizationally, we must build roots in every major section of the American community -- in the professions, in the academic disciplines, in the arts, in unions, in churches, in suburbs, as well as in the ghettoes and in student bodies.

Though initiated by SDS, REP seeks to engage more than students. It addresses itself to thinkers of competence -- whatever their age, class, credentials -- who share a commitment to the ideals of radical democracy. REP is in urgent need of your scientific, social, and artistic skills, and in urgent need of money.

The REP Staff

P.S. Some of our programs are already under way and others now are being launched. A description of our work is enclosed.

ENCLOSURE

100-445393-27

THE RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT: An Introduction and An Invitation.

REP is an effort by activists and intellectuals to develop a research, education, and publication center designed to strengthen the movement toward a new left in America.

REP invites the participation of all people who identify with the forces of radical democracy in America and abroad. We seek everyone who can make a contribution to the intellectual and educational work of research, speculation, writing, and speaking, which is a necessary precondition for effective politics.

REP sees three central needs, and from them it defines three objectives:

1) The need for competent research on the issues of left program and theory. It is no recent revelation that the theoretical framework of the left needs development in terms of the contemporary character of imperialism, capitalism, mass culture, technology, abundance, and in terms of the experience of socialist revolutions and American reforms. Nor is it a new discovery that the left is starved for the hard data, documentation and concrete proposals necessary for effective political action. REP seeks fact and theory and program.

2) The need to educate the student activists who are now drawn toward the radical movement on "single issues" such as Vietnam or poverty, or on "gut reaction" against the whole of American society. Unless action is supported by education youthful recruits are soon lost. A chief job of the student movement is to provide activists with the intellectual equipment and tools of social analysis necessary to sustain radical value commitment once away from the campus. REP seeks to develop needed educational resources.

3) The need to extend the movement beyond students and the most dispossessed. While we can lament the obvious fact that a politically significant left does not exist in America, it is clear that to build such requires striking roots in the professions, among university faculties, in the arts and in many of the "mass organizations" like churches, unions, etc. Not only must the radical sympathies that lie in these diverse social locations be mobilized, but these people must be included and engaged in developing a radical program for the transformation of the particular conditions of their own life and work. REP will try to broaden the scope of the movement.

The narrowness of the movement prevents it from describing tasks which can define for a teacher radical work, as a teacher, for a researcher or a doctor or lawyer, or artist or writer, radical work that draws on his particular talents and affects his particular part of society. The consequence is that most people support occasional protests and otherwise withdraw into cynicism.

We believe that radicals must make their politics manifest in their daily life and work. There is no politically neutral activity. The use of one's talents, the direction of one's energies has effect. The greatest moral and political challenge facing leftists is how both to live in America, to work in the institutions which provide income and status--and yet to change America. We don't have simple answers. And we approach this problem humbly, as one which affects and torments all of us.

REP seeks to create a framework in which people can create for themselves radical vocations which both affirm their individual talents and training and infuse their work with a moral and political purpose.

Our Politics:

REP does not start with a political line. It recognizes that ideology, theory, is essential for a political movement. But ideology is not an intellectual overlay. It must develop organically out of the interaction between political experience and continual analysis. REP hopes to contribute to this process by encouraging analysis, by checking old theory against current fact and experience, and by distilling from experience new theory and new implications for action. We seek clarity of values, precision in social criticism, concreteness in projecting both utopian alternatives and immediate reforms. We seek, by using all the tools of intellect and intuition, a view of the dynamics of history and social change which points to the forms of human intervention which can transform the present into a future fit for man.

While we do not start with a prepackaged ideology, we do begin with political convictions. Formulations are tentative, if only to avoid retreat to the slogans and cliches that have too long dominated the left and impeded self-analysis. Yet, the need for continual refinement of analysis does not imply permanent agnosticism, the postponement of assertion or the retreat from action.

We identify with a community and vision of democratic radicalism, humanistic, committed to individual freedom and the general welfare. These are beliefs shared by this community:

--that the great promise of American abundance is perverted and thwarted by the functioning of contemporary capitalism.

--that privilege, exploitation, inequality as components of class division of labor are no longer necessary, if they ever were, as conditions for abundance.

--that the possibility of still greater wealth for some Americans can not justify a political economy based on the exploitation of other countries and the continued poverty and oppression of their populations.

--that the forms of democracy cannot be judged in the abstract, apart from the actual freedom and humanness which they allow and the actual accountability of the holders of power to those affected by the decisions of power.

--that in America, where formal democracy is highly developed, the important decisions governing the course of social development and the quality of individual life and opportunity are not democratically made or accountable.

--that America is held in political and moral stalemate not only by sheer economic and political force, but also by a deadening ideology of national chauvinism, celebrating the American Way of Life, the American Dream, the American Century.

--that anti-communism is a central element in this ideological manipulation of belief, of what is true, what is good, what is possible, what is necessary. It provides the cover to "rationalize" the most brutal applications of military and economic power.

--that violent revolution is to be recognized and deplored for its high human cost; but that where the oppressed lack political power violent overthrow may be the necessary, though not sufficient, precondition to economic and political freedom.

--that issues such as the war in Vietnam or the oppression of the American underclass cry out for action. The work for long-term research, education, organization, theory, does not relieve the obligation for immediate, passionate protest.

These statements are certainly no catechism. They do begin to define a political perspective. If your disagreements are marginal--questions of qualifiers, semantics, omissions, implications, emphases--then we consider you a colleague and associate. We invite your participation in REP and in the collective work of clarifying belief ~~and infusing action with analysis.~~ ~~If your disagreements are central and substantive,~~ then we consider you audience and antagonist. We invite your participation in political debate.

REP is non-exclusionist. We reject the rhetoric of anti-communism and the myth of human affairs as a morality play between the forces of good and evil, capitalist freedom and communist slavery. We are open to all those who would feel comfortable in our company. Our criteria of judgment in matters of politics and belief will be facts, argument, and values.

The Scope of REP:

The REP staff has prepared a prospectus for the project which describes in detail the range of subject matter which we see as relevant and for which we are recruiting competence. If you are interested in the project, we will send you this prospectus. Here we want simply to indicate the scope of our concern.

I. Values and Utopias: The foundation of a movement is its moral position, its aspiration, its assertion of the possible and the desirable. The value issues of democracy, individual freedom, and general welfare in industrial society and in revolutionary ferment are complex, but that does not make them less important. Political judgments are ultimately value judgments. But more than clarity about values in the abstract, we need to develop concrete models of the structure of institutions and social relations that would embody our shared ideals--the nature of work and income, the control of production, the process of education, the styles of family life, the political institutions necessary for participatory democracy.

II. Analysis of Myths and Realities: The major part of REP work, and the major intellectual and educational need of the movement, is the analysis of what exists, of the myths through which people understand or misunderstand reality, and of the contradictions between myth and reality which provide leverage for change. Special studies will be organized on:

**the American Ideology (pluralism, corporatism, anti-communism, etc.)
**the world reality: international political economy, western Europe, the third world, global conditions and issues.
**problems and structures of the national political economy.
**cultural institutions in tension.
**mass media and the arts.

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III. Strategies for Change: The movement must analyze not only the targets of change and the forces of motion in society, but also how to orient and develop its own resources in terms of those forces. REP projects five types of studies in this area:

- **an analysis of social movements and revolution, both in America and elsewhere in terms of their relevance to the contemporary situation.
- **articulation and debate between various theoretical conceptions of political strategy.
- **analysis of the movement itself and identification of current strategic issues.
- **an analysis of agents of reform and potential agents of change in America.

Finally we will try to identify the current issues of struggle in America and make concrete proposals which are relevant to the immediate aspirations of those in struggle, but which expose the institutional blocks to significant change. Such issues requiring specific analysis and proposals include (besides the War and poverty): university education, urban planning and renewal, automation and employment, income, welfare, collective bargaining, economic development, etc.

We are seeking people who have interests and competence in these areas to work with REP.

Activities:

In the few months since its initiation, REP has drawn together a nucleus of people and begun work on a wide variety of activities. Some of these programs are described below. Details and other programs are elaborated in the REP prospectus. The fulfillment and expansion of these programs depend on the intellectual commitment and financial contribution of supporters.

Seminars and study groups: The establishment of an ongoing program of self-education in local chapters and projects of the movement is a high priority of REP. A first step is the aid and encouragement of seminars and the establishment of a speakers bureau. We are collecting and preparing seminar guides, speakers lists, papers, bibliographies, literature packets, and other educational tools on a wide range of topics: imperialism, relationships between foreign and domestic policy, the American economy, socialism, democracy under capitalism, Vietnam, poverty, community organization, South Africa, etc. Study guides now available include ones on decision-making in America, Marxism, the New Left, history of American radicalism, U.S. foreign policy and imperialism, urban politics. A film catalogue which includes a guide on how to set up a local film program is also available. While most of the seminars will be run informally and independently, an effort will be made to cooperate with "Free University" programs and, where possible, to get programs introduced into the regular college curriculum. At a later stage we hope to be able to develop "traveling workshops" that would bring teams of people with complementary areas of competence to a locale for intensive programs of coordinated education. Resources permitting, we plan to make our educational services available to any group willing to entertain a radical perspective.

Reconstruction of academic theory and teaching: We have begun to prepare pamphlet guies to introductory liberal arts courses in Economics and Anthropology. These outlines will try to expose and analyze the biases and limitations of conventional undergraduate teaching and textbooks: the values implied in accepted theory, the assumptions hidden in canonized methodology, the questions unasked, the data and

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theories neglected, the conditions of the real world overlooked, the history untold, the indoctrination accomplished. Outlines will include "scenarios" of questions and answers to help the student introduce relevant material and become an innovator in the class room, and keep the instructor from getting off the hook. There is need for similar work in Sociology, Political Science, History, Philosophy, the Humanities--indeed in every department of professional knowledge on the advanced as well as introductory level. What is needed, in fact, is a concrete and documented critique of the academic disciplines as a whole, showing how their structure and content reinforce the dominant interests and prejudices of the society and stifle relevance and social innovation. The course pamphlets are a beginning toward this work.

Papers from the New Left: REP is currently working on a book, to be published by Doubleday-Anchor, including more than a dozen essays of original analysis. These papers are attempting to systematize both the empirical foundation and theoretical orientation from which the movement looks at such issues as corporatism, imperialism, the welfare state, planning, education, the war on poverty and alliance for progress, race, work and leisure, electoral politics, mass culture, participatory democracy, liberal reform.

International Intelligence network: REP is beginning to develop a network of people, in the U.S. and abroad, closely tuned to international events, who will serve the movement as quick, incisive sources of intelligence on issues as they develop--and before. Such a network, including scholars, journalists, leftist youth leaders, government officials, guerrilla leaders, etc., can provide us with first-hand reports and analysis of the action of insurgent movements, the workings of the foreign policy apparatus, hints of impending developments. Already we have contacts in Japan, most European countries and Canada, Vietnamese rebels and neutrals, African nationalists, and others. These contacts are being extended, and to them we must add American scholars with specialized knowledge and contacts. One former staff member has recently returned from Guatemala where he has made extensive contacts with Guatemalan guerrillas. He will be publishing an account of his trip in the next month or two. On the basis of such contacts we can greatly improve our ability to produce documented political analysis, to make independent judgments, to challenge "official truth" and to base political opposition.

As a first major step in this direction, REP is presently consulting with the University Christian Movement, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and SNCC about the establishment of a Latin American institute. This institute will coordinate research, monitor information, and maintain contacts between radical student, church, and academic groups in this hemisphere. In the near future the institute would put out a magazine on Latin American problems.

Nations series: REP is undertaking to prepare a series of pamphlets summarizing information about other countries: the nature of their politics, parties, factions, contending positions, economic structure and development, character of the democratic opposition, their international relations, the role of U.S. business, political and military interests in the country, the position in the cold war and third world power contexts, etc. These will include annotated bibliography and a guide to primary source material. Research for pamphlets of this sort is nearing completion on the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, South Africa, Algeria, Vietnam, China. We will try to search out work of this sort that has already been done and make it available.

Issues of strategy in the movement: REP will undertake analysis of various strategic-theory myths that are current on the left: reform coalitions, third party organization, permeation, non-violence, independent insurgency. Two of these studies are now under way: a pamphlet examining the "black power-black consciousness" idea which has come to the forefront of the Negro movement and a series of papers on community organizing.

Class in America: REP is undertaking a number of studies on the nature of class structure in America, its relationship to political power, economic and social aspirations, belief in the American ideology, etc. An exploratory study is under way reexamining a range of existing data on political consciousness of blue collar workers, with the hope of developing a new view of working class politics and laying out new areas of research. We have produced a paper outlining the nature of class division between the underclass and the affluent with particular reference to the war on poverty and the viability of welfare state reforms.

The professions: REP is attempting to set up organizing conferences of radicals in, or preparing for, the various professions. Work has begun to set up planning groups in social work, medicine, law, school teaching, the ministry. The aims of these conferences will be to bring together from dispersed geographical locations people sharing political perspective and professional location; to discuss ways to influence the service quality and social impact of the profession; to plan pamphlets and speaking programs aimed at intervening in the process of professional education, making values explicit; to formulate programs that could improve professional practice; to organize (or support existing) professional associations or caucuses committed to radical social involvement.

The arts and mass media: REP seeks to understand the ideological functioning of art and the mass media, the relationship between aesthetic and political consciousness, and the potential of the arts and mass media as instruments of change. Research will examine the way in which art and the mass media are created and controlled how they are perceived by their publics, and the role they actually play in forming taste, thought patterns and opinions. Studies will seek to locate and encourage elements within the arts and media favorable to radical change. To initiate these studies, REP plans to organize three conferences: on the mass media and leisure, on social values and city planning, and on education in the arts. These conferences will aim to bring together people of different disciplines whose interests converge around these areas, to clarify problems and research needs, and to translate theory into tasks. The working papers for these conferences might later be edited into a book on the arts and society.

Development of research techniques: we are planning two small conferences on methodology of power structure analysis. One will deal with domestic power and the other with American power internationally. Both will be concerned with alternative research strategies, sources of data, access to privileged information, techniques of prediction, measurement of coalitions, interlocking interests, ideological constraints on action, etc. We are now completing research guides to aid students and others in the analysis of community power structure, national decision-making, foreign policy formation, etc.

The REP Bulletin: REP will publish a Bulletin distributed to SDS members, REP associates, and other subscribers. It will contain original research, issue analysis, book reviews, short papers, seminar outlines, bibliography, abstracts

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of articles from other publications, letters and discussion/conference notes, etc. In conjunction with the Bulletin, the products of REP research will be published as a series of pamphlets. Bulletin and pamphlet publication will begin as editorial work is completed, and as we have money. As a temporary measure, until resources and staff for a Bulletin are available, a newsletter, giving current information about REP activities, is now being published.

Work and Money: REP will complete its ongoing program and expand into other areas as people volunteer to do the work and provide the money. We are now recruiting staff for the REP national office in Ann Arbor, and coordinators, anywhere, to take on responsibility in promoting particular content areas of analysis. A fifteen person committee of directors will be appointed in December. Job descriptions for staff and more detail on the tasks for which coordinators are needed are available from the REP office. We have also worked out a tentative set of editorial guidelines and procedures for the initiation of program and research which we hope will insure the REP work is of high quality and in fact relevant to the needs of the movement. These procedures are also available from the office. The types of jobs we are asking people to undertake include: research, writing, editing, speaking, consulting with students and activists in the movement. We hope that people who share the political ideals of the movement will find in these jobs a way to make effective use of their particular talents, competences and experience.

If you want REP to survive and to fulfill its promise, your intellectual commitment is necessary.

Funds: REP is incorporated as a non-profit, educational organization, with its tax-exempt status pending. Of course it has no money. Of course it freeloads where it can. Of course, the staff is starving. Of course it will seek support from foundations and private donors. ULTIMATELY, though, the project will depend on the small contributions and monthly pledges of those individuals who support its objectives and participate in its activities.

If you want REP to survive and to fulfill its promise, your financial support is essential.

Associates and advisors: Supporters of the project will be considered associates of REP. We are inviting a number of associates to help as "advisors" in promotion, criticism of research, program organization, fundraising and other tasks. A partial list of advisors to this time is:

Ralph Andreano; Fr. Philip Berrigan, SSJ; Julian Bond; Robert S. Browne;
✓ Richard A. Cloward; Stanley Diamond; Douglas F. Dowd; Hal Draper; Barrows
Dunham; Robert Engler; Jules Feiffer; W.H. Ferry; Dr. Philip S. Foner; Norm
Fruchter; William A. Gamson; John Gerassi; Ernest Goodman; Paul Goodman; Nat
Hentoff; David Horowitz; Leo Huberman; Raghavan Iyer; Paul Jacobs; Julius
Jacobson; Gabriel Kolko; Andrew Kopkind; William Kunstler; Paul Lauter; Richard
Lichtman; Staughton Lynd; Herbert Marcuse; Seymour Melman; Jack Minnis;
and → Barrington Moore, Jr.; Linus Pauling; Victor Perlo; Bishop James A. Pike;
Marcus Raskin; Kenneth Rexroth; Sumner M. Rosen; Richard Shaull; Robert W.
Spike; Sol Stern; Harvey Swados; Michael Walzer; Arthur I. Waskow; Harvey
Wheeler; William Appleman Williams; Marshall Windmiller; Howard Zinn.

The REP staff is currently: Michael Locker, Evelyn Goldfield, Michael Goldfield, Jim Jacobs, Steve Weissman, Steve Johnson, Peter Henig, and Rita Sutcliffe.

Radical Education Project
510 East William Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108

+ Ramparts

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1477091-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 54
Page 5 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 6 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 7 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 10 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 11 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 12 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 14 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 17 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 19 ~ Referral/Consult;
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Page 23 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 26 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 27 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 28 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 34 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 35 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 37 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 38 ~ Referral/Consult;
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Page 109 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 110 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 121 ~ OTHER;
Page 207 ~ OTHER;
Page 208 ~ OTHER;
Page 209 ~ OTHER;
Page 229 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 244 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 260 ~ b7D;
Page 261 ~ b7D;
Page 262 ~ b7D;

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
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UNITED STATE[illegible]MENT

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DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Memorandum

TO : **Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.** DATE: **2/28/67**

FROM : **S. J. Papich**

1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

JECT: **RAMPARTS**

For your information, [redacted]

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

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[redacted]

ACTION:

[redacted]

[redacted] [S]

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~~Declassify on: OADR~~

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MAR 13 1967

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DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Staff Writers to Speak During Ramparts Week

Ramparts Week, sponsored by the UB Chapter of the National Student Association and by the Graduate Student Association, will feature four speakers from **Ramparts** magazine April 3, 4, and 5 in the Millard Fillmore Room.

Ramparts Managing Editor Robert Scheer will discuss "**Ramparts**, Gadfly to the Establishment," April 3 at 8:30 p.m.

Two lectures will be presented April 4 at 8 p.m. Sol Stern, author of the NSA-CIA article which appeared recently in **Ramparts**, will speak on "The CIA, The Cold War, and American Democratic Institutions." Former FBI agent William Turner will discuss "The FBI and Threats to the Right of Individual Privacy."

April 5 at 8:30 p.m., William Pepper, author of the "Children of Vietnam" article in the January issue of **Ramparts**, will speak on "The Children of Vietnam: the American Responsibility and American Humanity."

Biographical sketches of the speakers may be found in the centerfold of this issue of the **Spectrum.**

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1
THE SPECTRUM
State University of
New York at Buffalo,
N.Y.

Date: 3/31/67
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title: William Turner

Character:
or
Classification: 67-
Submitting Office: Buffalo
☐ Being Investigated

100-445373—

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE 67-455829-535

7-16-63)

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DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

At UB Symposium

'Kooks' Called Hope of Nation

The hope of the nation lies in the "kooks" and dissenters on campuses such as the University of Buffalo, a student audience at UB was told Tuesday night.

The "fraud" of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has shown an "incredible lack of responsibility" on the part of U.S. citizens, and public and private organizations, said Sol Stern, assistant managing editor of the controversial "Ramparts" magazine.

He spoke before about 400 persons at a symposium in Norton Union. The session was part of a three-night program that will conclude tonight.

A second speaker, former FBI agent William Turner, described the "proliferating" use by police of super-sophisticated wire taps and snooping devices.

As a writer for "Ramparts," Stern exposed CIA links with private student organizations and touched off a scandal involving the federal agency.

Later, it was disclosed that CIA money was being channeled to a wide range of groups, Stern said, all aimed at "maintaining the nation's position in the world."

He said the U.S. is paying "an enormous price" for the CIA's activities because it has destroyed the world's belief in the purity of private American organizations.

"Who can believe anything one is told in this country?" asked Stern. He said the CIA is "the closest thing we have to a totalitarian police organization."

The blame is not only the CIA's, said Stern. "It was doing what it did because American foreign policy required it."

The final responsibility lies with the nation's "liberal establishment," which allowed it to happen, he said.

Turner, who is a Buffalo native and a graduate of Canisius College, said the FBI's use of "bugging" tactics started during World War II, "and it never kicked the habit."

In many cases, he said the FBI violates the Communications Act of 1934, and state and local regulations by using bugs.

The snooping is done, he said, in the name of "national security," and the definition of national security is "anything you say it is."

He told the audience that "you've got to kick the (bugging) habit for them" by keeping opposition to it alive, and by refusing to allow prying.

"Unless you get on this and kick it," said Turner, "we've all got to be 100 per cent American apple pie eaters."

The program will conclude at 8:30 tonight with a talk by William F. Pepper, a contributing writer to the magazine. The symposium is being sponsored by the Graduate Student Assn. and the UB chapter of the National Student Assn.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

41

BUFFALO COURIER
EXPRESS
BUFFALO, N.Y.

Date: 4/5/67
Edition: Four Star
Author:
Editor:
Title: William Turner

Character:
or
Classification: 67-
Submitting Office: Buffalo

☐ Being Investigated

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FBI

Date: 4/5/67

Transmit the following in ______________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AMSD
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ATTN: ADMINISTRATIVE DIV.

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (67-369-A P & C)

[redacted]
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Ramparts Magazine

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Remytel 4/5/67.

Enclosed herewith for the further information of the Bureau, relative to the activities of [redacted] [redacted] at the University of Buffalo, are pertinent newspaper clippings from the University of Buffalo student newspaper the "Spectrum," of 3/31/67, and also an article appearing in the "Buffalo Courier Express" of 4/5/67.

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cc Callahan

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Approved: ______________________ Sent ____________ M Per ____________
Special Agent in Charge

4-572 (Rev. 7-18-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 3-1-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Memorandum to the Director
Re: The Congressional Record

APPENDIX - continued

Pages A1072-A1073. Congressman Multer, (D) New York, pointed out that one of the most vocal critics of the [redacted] has been one of the editors of Ramparts magazine. He advised that a column from the February 24th edition of the New York World Journal Tribune suggests some interesting questions. The item is entitled "Carl T. Rowan--[redacted] Critic's Mission to Prague." It states "A few days ago a brief, cryptic report out of Prague, Czechoslovakia, was passed among a handful of top officials in Washington. It said that an editor of Ramparts Magazine had come to Prague and held 'a long, secret session' with officers of the Communist-controlled International Union of Students. - - - - I learned that the Prague visitor was supposed to be Robert Scheer, Ramparts' managing editor.

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RE 64 100-445393-32

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199 MAR 16 1967

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DATE 7/7/00 BY

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 3/1/67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

55 MAR 22 1967

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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1 - Name Check
1 - C. F. Brown

7/6-7/180

March 16, 1967

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3/16/87

ROBERT MC AFEE ~~BROWN~~

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By letter dated May 26, 1954, a minister mailed to this office an article from the May, 1954, issue of "Union (T.) Seminary Quarterly Review," (3041 Broadway, New York City), captioned "Creation, Faith and McCarthyism" by Robert M. Brown. This article criticized former Senator Joseph McCarthy. The article identified Brown as Auburn Assistant Professor of Systematic Theology and Philosophy of Religion in the Seminary.

Reverend Robert McAfee Brown participated as one of 18 ministers accompanying freedom riders testing integration of public facilities throughout the South in 1961.

On October 24, 1963, a confidential informant who has provided reliable information in the past provided a partial list of sponsors for the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. Included on this list was Professor Robert McAfee Brown, Stanford, California, Professor of Religion, Stanford University. (62-5-24936) 8u

On January 20, 1967, a demonstration was held in Seattle, Washington, protesting United States intervention in Vietnam. Leaflets were left on the seats in the auditorium where the demonstration was held and one of these leaflets, captioned "Viet-Nam: The Clergyman's Dilemma," listed Dr. Robert McAfee Brown, Professor, Stanford University, as one of the protesters. [redacted]

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On January 31, 1967, a meeting was held in the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., sponsored by clergymen and laymen concerned about Vietnam. The program was announced as "A Service of Witness in Time of War." Dr. Robert McAfee Brown gave a prayer in which he asked "Where is God found?" "Is He found in the halls of Congress, or in the State Department where they decide who will live and who will die in Vietnam?" He stated that as a nation, the United States cannot presume it is righteous just because it is opposing an ideology (communism). [redacted]

MAR 1967

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division.

[redacted]

~~NOTE: Classified "Secret" inasmuch as incoming so classified.~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

CFB:clo
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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1 - Name Check
1 - L. M. Gaskill

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March 16, 1967

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GORDON C. ZAHN

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

Review of Bureau files reveals that during 1941 one Gordon Charles Zahn, who resided in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, claimed to be a conscientious objector who wished to be exempted from military service. Zahn advised he was a pacifist and stated the belief that an individual had no right to take the life of or assist in taking the life of another individual. (25-83409-2)

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised during August, 1963, that the American citizen, Professor Gordon Zahn, 501 East 32nd Street, Chicago, Illinois, was a member of the Pax Vobis Workers Circle of German Catholics. According to the source this organization had been recently established in the German Federal Republic by pro-communist forces. [redacted]

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The November 23, 1965, issue of "The New York Times," a New York City daily newspaper, contained an advertisement entitled "March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam" with the subtitle "A Call to Mobilize the Conscience of America."

One of the sponsors for the march was listed as Prof. Gordon C. Zahn, Professor of Sociology, Loyola University.

"The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, ts issue of December 15, 1965, on page 4, contains a graphic reproduction of the above advertisement appearing e New York Times." (100-444664-312)

EX-102
REC 45
100-445393-35

On September 5, 1963, a source who has furnished le information in the past furnished material which

[redacted]

NOTE: Classified "~~Secret~~" inasmuch as ~~incoming so~~ classified.

NCLOSURE

MAR 17 1967

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~~SECRET~~ SEE REVERSE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: 3/3/67

FROM : S. J. Papich

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

SJP:rab
(5)

(No Polish intelligence interest in Watson 3/23/67)

W. Wagner
(re. HUBERMAN)

SUB. CONTROL

EX-114

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OTHERWISE~~

REC 26

100-445393-36

MAR 20 1967

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

59 APR 21 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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7 ½

1 - Name [illegible]eck
1 - C. F. Brown

~~SECRET~~

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

March 17, 19[redacted]

FRED KRINSKY — Summary

AKS
Enc

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted] S

The newspaper, "Post Standard," Syracuse, New York, in an article dated December 4, 1952, set out that one Dr. Fred Krinsky was connected with the Maxwell School of Citizenship at Syracuse University as an assistant professor of citizenship. The article further identified him as having received a bachelor of arts degree from Brooklyn college and a doctor of philosophy in political science from the University of Pennsylvania. [redacted]

b3
b7E

The "Elmira Star-Gazette," a local Elmira, New York, newspaper, on April 28, 1960, carried an article captioned "Panel at College to Examine Peace from Three Viewpoints." This article in part stated that three points of view on peace would be presented in a panel discussion open to the public on May 5, 1960, to be sponsored by Elmira College and the American Friends Service Committee in the College auditorium. Those listed to take part were Nicolai Bourov, First Secretary of the USSR Delegation to the United Nations; Dr. Fred Krinsky, Associate Professor of Citizenship at the Maxwell School of Citizenship; and Dr. Harrop Freeman, Professor of Law at Cornell University, with James Sykers of the American Friends Service Committee to act as moderator. The "Elmira Star-Gazette" again on May 6, 1960,

~~SECRET~~

REC-71 100-443937

[redacted] conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~ See note, page 2.
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.
DATE OF REVIEW

14 MAR 20 1967

59 MAR 24 1967

59 APR 26 1967

~~SECRET~~

Fred Krinsky

published an article captioned "Arms Race Leads to Disaster, Three Speakers at College Agree." This was a follow-up article on the above discussion. [redacted]

b3
b7E

NOTE: [redacted] Referral/Consult

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

REC- 62 100-44-393-

March 21, 1967

b3
b7E

ARTHUR A. COHEN
Editorial Board,
Ramparts Magazine

[redacted]

The following information is available concerning one Arthur A. Cohen who may be identical with the subject of your inquiry.

It is to be noted that "Who's Who" lists Arthur Allen Cohen as born June 25, 1928, at New York City, having received a BA and MA Degree from the University of Chicago, and a Fellowship, Jewish Philosophy, Jewish Theological Seminary, 1951-1953. He is listed as Director of Religious Publication, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.

On October 1, 1961, WTTG - TV (Channel 5), Washington, D. C., presented a two-hour panel discussion entitled "Open End." Arthur A. Cohen, vice president of Meredian Books and a consultant for the Fund for the Republic appeared on this program. Cohen was one of three participants who generally attacked the House Committee on Un-American Activities and any actions against communists. [redacted]

b3
b7E

Original and 1 - [redacted]
Request received - March 16, 1967

WFW:mkw
(4)

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[redacted]

[redacted]

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59 MAR 28 1967

[redacted]

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATE MENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tolson
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : **W. C. Sullivan**

DATE: **4/12/67**

FROM : **D. J. Brennan, Jr.**

SUBJECT: **"RAMPARTS"**

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

The attached page from the magazine is made up of filthy and degenerate language and, in particular, makes an extremely vicious remark about the mother of President Johnson.

ACTION:

For information.

Enc.

WOC:jad jad
(7)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
1 - W. O. Cregar

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 4/27/87~~

REC 12 100-445393-39

NO APR 18 1967

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EX-104

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

59 APR 24 1967 314

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DATE 7/17/80 BY

100-415396-39

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 100-HQ-445393 Sec 2 Ser 37

Society:

LOVE AND HATE

by Paul Krassner

WHILE MOST elevator operators must remain content with asking what floor you want, the balding man who runs the lift in a building which houses the Janis Gallery has been given a special assignment of screening *his* passengers by age You can get drafted at 18 but in order to view this particular collection of erotic art, you have to be 21

Just in case the elevator operator occasionally fails in carrying out his mission, there's a Pop Pinkerton Guard upstairs, standing a few feet away from a photostat-poster containing an ancient description of incest (i e , *The Holy Bible*, Book of Genesis Chapter 20, Verses 30–36)

Actually, the Great Erotic Artist in the Sky and his colleagues were in no danger of being arrested, inasmuch as a private showing had already been approved by the Police Preview Board before the exhibit officially opened

Larry Rivers contributed a sculpture *cum* portrait that was obviously a put-in a mechanic-ish three-dimensional, nine-foot-tall Negro male, for whom electric light bulbs serve as hands and genitals, indulges in perpetual anal intercourse with a patient two-dimensional recipient of apparently neuter gender and race, boasting buttocks of red plastic

This anti-creche was christened "Lamp Man Loves It" by Terry Southern, whose previous collaboration with Rivers was a comic strip called The Adventures of the Vomiting Priest' that never quite came to pass

Lamp Man's penis *per se* flashes on and off in a continuing dramatic display of alternating current and unnatural rhythm There had been a report that the bulb was turned off, [illegible] the Janis brothers claim that any[illegible] who wishes to may turn it on However the bulb was out of order Why wouldn t they replace it? They had called Larry Rivers three times during the last three days to come over and fix it himself

A rare pleasure, to see gallery owners display such respect for an artist's integrity

AT THE Village Theatre, LeRoi Jones was the star of An Evening With Pure Hate" A telephone call had threatened that 50 Ku Klux Klanners were going to cross the New Jersey border, but they never showed up

A group of Negro children began the proceedings with an unintentional parody of a combination *bar mitzvah* speech—greeting friends, relatives and enemies —and a Christmas pageant

To his credit Jones poetry poked fun equally at white folks (Lyndon Johnson s mother committed fellatio on a nigger she picked up downtown, in 1928 I got proof) and colored folks (even the ones where the wigs slide)

But whereas sticks and stones will break a white man s bones (He owes you anything you want, even his life), names will never hurt a Negro (Roy Wilkins is an eternal faggot)

Here was Instant Erasure of all the good that had previously been accomplished in a movie featuring Ray Charles inspiring the white mother of a blind boy to go out and get him an operation, the message being something along the lines of ' One Man, One Eye

LeRoi Jones has a skillful voice and an impressive style in which to encase his definite intimations of anti Semitism on the Left, a sort of convoluted converse to National Socialism on the Right The Garden State KKK probably stayed away out of sheer confusion

In the lobby of this former home of Yiddish melodrama, there was a table with cards for members of the audience to write questions on, but there was no question period

Jones concluded with the reading of an as yet unproduced play he d written, and the largely Negro audience loved it Near the back of the orchestra, though, a young white couple reduced the entire performance to stereotypical absurdity by petting to anti-climax

Simultaneously, at the Janis G
Lamp Man's light suddenly—mag
—went on again There had been a
porary black power failure

Cinema:

IS HAPPINESS LE BONHEUR"?

by Jonathan Middlebrook

'LE BONHEUR" is a movie about a provincial French couple, a provincial French mistress and the husband s attempts to find and express a natural happiness which can include all three of them The movie was made (written and directed) by Agnes Varda, a fact which has limited most reviewers responses to fatuous surprise 'Only a woman could talk so frankly of love," etc But Varda is tougher than her reviewers, and her movie at once criticizes and extends the vision of cinema 66

Cinema 66 sees a world in a commercial art flash chrome yellow, blue, even the Citroen gray of the *deux chevaux* is transmogrified by precise camera work into pop artifact Varda doesn t make her stars clothes horses for Givenchy—exit at last Audrey Hepburn s posturings—but she resolutely seeks out fashion color on the objects that 1966 gives the little people to use in their daily round of creative toil Varda sees trucks, coveralls, *cafe*-awnings, formica, and advertisements everywhere And everything is clean Unbeknownst to themselves—they are reflective sorts—François (cabinet-worker), Therese (housewife), their children, and Emilie (mistress), live in an idyllic world Varda has the bell-jar of her camera over their world, examining it to the tune of W A —as she familiarly knows him—Mozart Under the glass, similarities of certain Impressionist painters are magnified, Varda

ENCLOSURE
100-445393-39

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO: Mr. DeLoach

DATE: April 17, 1967

FROM: R. E. Wick

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
DESIRE TO HAVE INTERVIEW WITH DIRECTOR OR OTHER BUREAU OFFICIAL FOR PROPOSED STORY ON COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA)

On the afternoon of 4/17/67 [redacted] in my office was telephonically contacted by [redacted] who stated he was a [redacted] Ramparts Magazine, San Francisco, California. He advised that Ramparts Magazine is doing a story on the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and he desired to have an interview with Mr. Hoover or some other official of the FBI for the purpose of getting a "briefing" on the CPUSA and also to determine the Bureau's views as to the nature of the threat presently posed by the CPUSA and whether it still acts on orders from Moscow.

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

ACTION TAKEN

[redacted] was advised by [redacted] that neither Mr. Hoover nor any Bureau official would be available for interview by a representative of Ramparts Magazine with regard to the CPUSA. [redacted] became argumentative on being so advised, and expressed puzzlement that no one from the FBI would furnish him the requested "briefing" on the

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Miss Gandy
1 - Miss Holmes
1 - Mr. Jones
1 - Mr. Morrell

TEB:mls
(8)

EX 109

REC 5 100-445393-40

APR 25 1967

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DATE 7/17/80 BY

CONTINUED - OVER

79 APR 26 1967

CPUSA or its following of orders from Moscow. He indicated he may still send some questions on this topic to Mr. Hoover via a letter.

RECOMMENDATION

If such a letter is received from [redacted] or any other representative of Ramparts Magazine, it is recommended that no cooperation whatsoever be afforded to them. b6 b7C

Right. Ramparts gets nothing.

FD-36 (Rev 5-22-64)

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EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)
DATE 02-09-2011

FBI

Date 4/17/67

~~SECRET~~

Transmit the following in ______ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ______ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-19456) (P*)

[redacted] S

(OO:WFO)

b7D

[redacted]

(S) ReWFOairtel 4/17/67, captioned [redacted] S

(S) Enclosed are five copies of an LHM, setting out information furnished by [redacted] S

b1

(S) [redacted]

INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN WAS OBTAINED FROM A HIGHLY SENSITIVE SOURCE AND THE SECURITY OF THIS SOURCE MUST BE CONSIDERED IN ANY DISSEMINATION OF THIS MATERIAL.

b6
b7C

(S) [redacted] S

(4) - Bureau (Enc. 7)
3 - WFO
(S) (1- [redacted]
(1- [redacted]

JWR:smm
(7)

1cc + 1 LHM + 1
attach to LHM

100-445393

APR 21 1967

54 APR 28 1967

Approved: ______ Sent ______ M Per ______
Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~

The sources in the LHM are identified as follows: ~~S~~

(S)

1. [redacted]
2. [redacted] ~~S~~ ~~S~~
3. [redacted]

b1

b7D

"No Foreign Dissem."

(S) [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-14-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~SECRET~~

April 17, 1967

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

On April 13 and 14, 1967, a source, whose bona fides is unknown but who is in a position to furnish reliable information, advised the following: ~~S~~

(S)

[redacted]

Ramparts is a magazine published monthly by Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, with main offices in New York, New York, and San Francisco, California.

b1

(S)

[redacted]

(S)

[redacted]

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~SECRET~~

7/7/80
~~CLASS. & EXT BY SP1MSK hue~~
~~REASON-FC 4,2 2,3~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 4/17/87~~

~~SECRET~~
~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

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100-[illegible]393

~~ENCLOSURE~~

ENCLOSURE

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~~SECRET~~

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

(U) [redacted]

(S)

(S) [redacted]

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~~SECRET~~

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b1

(S)

[redacted]

(S)

(S)

DOWNGRADED TO SECRET
[redacted] ANC UA/CPB/RN/KN
9-26-05

9/21/80

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~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2, 3~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 4/17/87~~

b6
b7C

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-445393

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-09-2011

b6
b7C

4/10/67

1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Ryan

Airtel

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To: SACs, New York (100-129802)
San Francisco (100-42399)

From: Director, FBI (100-3-104-34)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
("RAMPARTS")

~~CONTAINED UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

~~CLASS. REASON- DATE OF~~

Re New York and San Francisco tels 4/18/67.

Many staff members of "Ramparts" magazine have subversive backgrounds and there are indications its recent exposure of the [redacted] funding of the National Student Association was inspired by the Soviets as a disinformation operation. Therefore, it is not desired information discrediting the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), be furnished the publication anonymously or otherwise.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b3
b7E

Any article relating to the CPUSA published by "Ramparts" is likely to be highly distorted to depict the Party in a favorable manner. New York and San Francisco should be alert to review the proposed article so any distortions or attacks on the FBI may be promptly repudiated through efforts of established news media sources. The Bureau should be advised of any developments and prior authority must be obtained before initiating any counterintelligence action.

~~1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")~~

~~DR CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1MSH/tlc~~ 11/7/80
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~ 2
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 4/19/87

[redacted]

RECORDED
APR 25 1967

b6
b7C

NOTE: New York source advised on 4/17/67, ~~an unidentified~~ female contacted CP headquarters and identified herself as connected with "Ramparts." She indicated [redacted] [redacted] "Ramparts", was to be in New York during the week and a story was to be done by "Ramparts" on the CP. [redacted] has a subversive background and "Ramparts" magazine has been highly critical of the FBI in the past. We will not furnish any information to this publication anonymously or otherwise.

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 4/10/67

FROM : SAC, San Francisco (67-15407)

SUBJECT: [redacted]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b6
b7C

Enclosed, herewith, for the Bureau's information is a copy of a story [redacted] which appears in the April, 1967, issue of Ramparts magazine.

- ~~W.E. Clark~~

2 Bureau (Encl.-1)
1 SF
COL:ekk
(3)

1 att

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DATE 7/17/80 BY

67-45553-537

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Searched
Numbered
APR 25 1967

100-445393

NOT RECORDED
141 APR 27 1967

ENCLOSURE

56 MAY 11 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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Opinion:

THE PLOT THICKENS

by William Turner

A PROPHET WITHOUT HONOR in New Orleans, District Attorney Jim Garrison is an ominous threat to the Warren Report establishment, which includes about every distinguished ear-bender and bureaucrat from Washington to Dallas. Ramsey Clark, the new attorney general, said Garrison was just treading on ground the FBI had already investigated and discounted. Most Warren Commission members expressed cautious doubts that he had anything, and Congressman Gerald Ford, whose book *Portrait of the Assassin*, concludes unequivocably that Oswald did it alone, demanded that Garrison turn over to the FBI whatever he did have. "What?" boomed Garrison, "and wait another three years?"

Except for some discreet checks here and there, the FBI has not re-opened its investigation, but is waiting and hoping Garrison falls flat on his face. Should it get involved in further inquiry and again come up with nothing, it reasons, it would again leave itself open to whitewash charges. Even more discomfiting to the prestige-conscious bureau is the prospect that Garrison does have a case—which would make the G-men look like the rankest of amateurs. Garrison has complained that he has received absolutely no cooperation from the FBI; it refused, for example, to make available the results of its investigation of the enigmatic David Ferrie immediately following the assassination.

This solid wall of antipathy and, at times, hostility, could in the end block Garrison from getting at the whole truth even though his New Orleans theory is soundly structured. "We have no authority outside of Orleans Parish," ex[illegible]d a Garrison investigator—"and [illegible]nly the FBI but the Dallas police [illegible]district attorney have refused to cooperate with us." The possibility that agencies are not only snubbing Garrison, but trying to learn his moves in order to checkmate them has occurred to his investigators.

"There goes that FBI voice relay," remarked one, picking up the phone and referring to the automatic devices to start tape recorders. "We have to assume everything is monitored."

That Garrison should buck a formidable segment of the establishment seems singularly inappropriate for a politician with further political aspirations. Skeptics say he is trying to make political hay out of his investigation, and is aiming beyond it at the governorship of Louisiana. But by the same token, if his case should fall flat, he would plunge into political oblivion. In truth, Garrison seems to possess rare courage: he has successfully bucked the powers-that-be before, and is supremely confident that he can do it again. The six and a half foot giant from Dennison, Iowa (his father stood close to seven feet) has exhibited an independent streak ever since graduating from Tulane Law School. He ran as an underdog independent for district attorney, blasting the corruptness of the incumbent administration. He reformed a parole system in which paroles could be bought, has collected more bail bond forfeitures from bondsmen than all of his predecessors, and has never lost a murder case. Once known as a Bourbon Street swinger, he aroused the ire of French Quarter inhabitants when he became D.A. by padlocking a number of girlie joints. Garrison's most celebrated bout was with the city's judges, whom he accused of taking overly extensive vacations and running too short sessions. The judges sued for defamation, but Garrison won out in the Supreme Court.

Garrison is obviously a tough, competent investigator, and it was the series of implausibilities in the Warren Report, such as the close spacing of the shots and the theory that one bullet penetrated both Kennedy and Connally, that first aroused his curiosity. Once into the 26 volumes, he discovered the incredible number of loose ends to the investigation. "Garrison doesn't believe there was an express conspiracy in government to suppress the truth," says Louis Gurvich, w[illegible] with his brother William, operates th[illegible]gest detective agency in the South, "but he does believe there was a tacit understanding that to delve too deep might not be in the 'national interest.' " This was implicit, Gurvich points out, in the premature conclusion of J. Edgar Hoover, barely three weeks after the assassination, that Oswald and Ruby both acted independently.

The Gurvichs, quiet-spoken men in their mid-forties like Garrison, have been key confidants to Garrison and prime movers of his investigative task force. Louis, who once aspired to become a history professor, sees an analogy to the Dreyfus case in the government's initially superficial inquiry and its refusal to re-open the case.

Gurvich scoffs at Attorney General Clark's statement that David Ferrie and Clay Shaw, whom Garrison claims figured in the assassination scheme, were investigated and cleared by the FBI in 1963. "What do they mean by investigated?" he asks. "Shaw was a big man in this town—head of the International Trade Mart—and they may have asked him some questions in a deferential manner. But I doubt that they really interrogated him hard and kicked over every stone as they would have in the case of a less prestigious suspect." And both he and Garrison are convinced, says Gurvich, that the Commission's probe was fatally flawed by undue haste ("The FBI buzzed around here like every day was the last," he recalled) and the lack of someone with an overview to correlate the mass of reports and memoranda, most of them wholly irrelevant, that poured in from the FBI.

What is Garrison's theory? The D.A. and his men are wisely keeping their own counsel. When Ed Gutman, the former press secretary to Bobby Kennedy in the Department of Justice and now an editor of the Los Angeles Times, dropped into New Orleans on his way to New York, Garrison and Gurvich took him to lunch but didn't drop any facts. "He probably was sizing up our intelligence quotient for Bobby," said Gurvich. "Bobby's always been leery of the kooky critics." About all that is certain is that Garrison's suspects include Cubans as well as Americans.

When the Cuban angle first became evident, Garrison was besieged by right wingers and anti-Castroites who assumed

ENCLOSURE

April, 1967

100-44537[illegible]—

~~ENCLOSURE~~

he had detected the hand of Castro in the affair. Now they have backed off, s[illegible] it is palpable that he is on the spoo[illegible]f anti-Castro fanatics. His sleuths have spent considerable time in Miami, another center of emigre activity. One theory attributed to Garrison is that Oswald was importuned by an anti-Castro faction to get a Cuban visa in Mexico City in order to assassinate Castro and, failing that, was turned on Kennedy, whose lack of overt action against Castro made him unpopular among the more volatile emigres. This theory necessarily renders Oswald a phony leftist, which is not a far-fetched idea.

The testimony of Mrs. Sylvia Odio that she was visited by two Latins and Oswald in Dallas in late September 1963, is apparently an integral part of Garrison's investigation. Mrs. Odio was a member of the Jure faction led by Manuel Ray; her parents have been imprisoned in Cuba since 1961, for contributing to Ray. The Odio family was aristocratic and wealthy, and Mrs. Odio suspects the purpose of the visit was to sound her out about funds. The next day, she said, one of the men, Leopoldo, telephoned her to mention that Oswald, an ex-Marine, had asserted that Kennedy should be killed for the way he had ignored the emigres. Mrs. Odio was unenthusiastic, and no further contact was made. The Warren Commission put little stock in her story, contending it was highly unlikely Oswald could have been in Dallas at the time. Yet she insisted that it was Oswald, and her sister, who was also present, concurred. Recently CBS Television interviewed her at San Juan, Puerto Rico, where she now lives. She still maintains the Warren Commission was wrong, and complains of being "harrassed and hounded" by the FBI.

Also, Garrison is said to have a photograph which shows several of the same Cubans with whom Oswald associated in New Orleans on the Kennedy motorcade route in Dallas. His investigators attempted to question a Cuban now living in Dallas, but the man refused without District Attorney Bill Alexander and Dallas police being present. And Garrison admittedly is strongly interested in Jack Ruby and his possible connection with Cuban gun-running. Nancy Perrin Rich told the Warren Commission that her late husband Jack Perrin had been offered $10,000 by a group which included Ruby to run Enfield rifles into Cuba for use by insurgents. Perrin died in New Orleans in 1962 of arsenic poisoning; the coroner decided the poison was voluntarily consumed. Ramparts has furnished Garrison information suggesting that a Ruby employee was in New Orleans recruiting people to come to Dallas prior to the assassination.

Garrison has not overlooked the possibility that Oswald was framed. "When he kept repeating, 'I'm just a patsy,'" says Louis Gurvich, "he may just have been right." The false Oswald theory has considerable substance. One angle Garrison is working on is that a look-alike for Oswald was seen with David Ferrie—at the time Oswald was in Minsk.

So Jim Garrison, who found the Warren Report an insult to his integrity, continues to play his lone hand. If he manages to rake in the chips, the Warren Report, intended as a national catharsis, will look more like the bordereau.

MAO TSE-TUNG

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION
APR 5 1967
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI-BUFFALO

11:11AM URGENT 4/5/67 AMM IP

TO DIRECTOR ATTN: ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

FROM BUFFALO (67-369-A P & C)

[redacted] INFORMATION CONCERNING.

b6
b7C

FOR INFORMATION OF BUREAU, FOUR SPEAKERS FROM RAMPARTS MAGAZINE ARE APPEARING AS GUEST LECTURERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, BUFFALO, N.Y., APRIL THREE, FOUR AND FIVE INSTANT, IN A FORUM CALLED ~~QUOTE~~ "RAMPARTS WEEK" ~~UNQUOTE~~, SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSN AND THE GRADUATE STUDENT ASSN. ONE OF THE FOUR RAMPART SPEAKERS IS FORMER FBI AGENT WILLIAM W. TURNER, WHO REPORTEDLY WILL DISCUSS QUOTE THE FBI AND THREATS TO THE INDIVIDUAL RIGHT OF PRIVACY UNQUOTE.

ACCORDING TO BUFFALO COURIER EXPRESS ARTICLE APPEARING IN THIS MORNING'S PAPER, TURNER, ON EVENING OF APRIL FOUR LAST, BEFORE A STUDENT GROUP OF ABOUT FOUR HUNDRED, DISCUSSED CIA AND FBI WIRETAPPING ACTIVITIES. TURNER MADE ASSERTION THAT FBI VIOLATES THE LAW BY USE OF BUGS AND OTHER SNOOPING ACTIVITIES.

AIRTEL FOLLOWS WITH FURTHER DETAILS RELATIVE TO TURNER.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ANY PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

GJG

FBI WASH DC

100-445393-
NOT RECORDED
APR 21 1967

67-453827-536
Searched Numbered
APR 17 1967
148

REC-134

CLASSIFYING

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

CC: MR. WICK + Mr. Callahan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/1/80 BY

ORIGINAL FILED IN 67-453827-53

3 WEC

57 APR 28 1967

4-572 (Rev. 7-18-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 4/13/67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages [illegible]. Congressman Ashbrook, (R) Ohio, spoke concerning the magazine Ramparts and its associates and remarked "Would J. Edgar Hoover welcome them as applicants for the FBI? - - - Exclusive, the Washington newsletter published by Fulton Lewis III has provided background information on the various people associated with Ramparts. According to the Exclusive rundown, the best interests of the United States does not appear to be one of their criteria for judgments. He included the articles dated March 29, 1967, and April 5, 1967, in the Record, which indicated that Ramparts' Editor-in-Chief Edward Michael Keating has been an outspoken critic of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, frequently making baseless charges or allegations concerning the work of that Bureau. In October, 1964, Keating publicly indicated that he was willing to turn over to the Justice Department information he had obtained concerning the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. In making the offer, he charged that the FBI had 'not done its job' in locating the guilty parties, implying that FBI officials in Mississippi were sympathetic to the racial slayers. When contacted, however, Keating stated he had never been in Mississippi, and that he had not personally obtained any evidence whatsoever concerning the crime." The articles also identified other individuals associated with Ramparts and indicated Ramparts was responsible for breaking the sensational story concerning [redacted] channeling funds to NSA.

b3
b7E

Original filed in: 66-17[illegible]-3056

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DATE 7/7/80 BY [illegible]

REC 20

100-445393-41

NOT RECORDED
191 APR 26 1967

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 4/12/67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

64 MAY 2 1967

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 02-09-2011

~~TOP~~ SECRET

1 - Mr. [illegible]
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Cregar
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Peterson

April 18, 1967

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (S)

[redacted]

[redacted] ~~(S)~~ (S)

On April 13 and 14, 1967, a source whose reliability has not been established but who is in a position to furnish reliable information made available the following: ~~(S)~~ (S)

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

(S) [redacted]

b1

SECRET

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

(S) [redacted]

ECP:mls (9)

1 - [redacted]

1 - 100-[illegible] ("Ramparts")

~~(S)~~ (S)

REASON-FC
DATE OF R

b3
b7E

67 MAY 2 1967

DOWNGRADED TO SECRET
6-322 AUC UICPG/RMIP
9-26-

SEE NOTE PAGE ~~TWO~~ SECRET

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~NO FORN~~

(U) [redacted] ~~(S)~~

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b7D

[redacted] ~~(S)~~

Source has advised that [redacted]
(U) [redacted] ~~(S)~~

b6
b7C
b7D

A third confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that [redacted]

[redacted]

(U) [redacted] ~~(S)~~

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

(U) [redacted] ~~(S)~~

NOTE:

See memorandum Branigan to Sullivan, captioned as above, dated 4-18-67, prepared by ECP:cls. ~~(S)~~

b1
b7D

(S) [redacted] First source is [redacted] Second source is [redacted] Third source is [redacted] ~~(S)~~

(S) Classified "~~Top Secret~~/No Foreign Dissemination" as it contains information from a [redacted] b1

(S) [redacted]

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

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DATE 02-09-2011

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Cregar
1 - Mr. Branigan
4-18-67

1 - Mr. Peterson

~~SECRET~~

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Mr. W. A. Branigan

(U) [redacted] ~~X~~ b6 b7C

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~ Referral/Consult

[redacted]

(U) [redacted] ~~X~~

4/11/80

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 JSK/luc~~
~~REASON 1-2.4.2 2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 4/15/87~~

DETAILS:

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

(U) [redacted] ~~X~~

[redacted]

(U) [redacted] ~~X~~

(S) [redacted] b1

Enclosures

(S) [redacted]
1 - [redacted] [redacted] b3 b7E
1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")
ECP:cls (8)

~~X~~(S)

RECORDED
145 APR 22 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

~~SECRET~~ DOWNGRADED TO SECRET 60322 ACW/PDB/PM 4-26-01 ~~SECRET~~

Memorandum [illegible] to Sullivan

(U) RE: [redacted] [redacted]

(S)

~~CRET~~

b6
b7C
b3
b7E

[redacted]

b1

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

(U) [redacted]

OBSERVATIONS:

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

(U) [redacted]

ACTION:

If you agree, attached is a communication for dissemination as indicated above which advises of the information contained herein.

~~SECRET~~

SAC, San Francisco (157-459) 5/8/67

REC-126
Director, FBI (100-445393)-42

1 - Mr. B. A. Wells

B. Wells

"RAMPARTS"
IS - C

Reurlet 4/26/67.

Authority is denied to check the bank account of captioned publication.

BAW:pag
(4)

NOTE:

"Ramparts" is a leftist magazine which has been highly critical of U. S. policy toward Vietnam. It has been described as a magazine dedicated to intellectual muckraking. It was recently responsible for the disclosure of [redacted] subsidies to the National Students Association and to several foundations. At the present time, the magazine is having a fight among its board of directors and officers; Edward Keating, its founder, recently was removed as editor in chief. Keating is a wealthy individual who says that he has invested over $800,000 in the past two years. Some of its other backers are wealthy and have donated large sums to it. A check of bank records at this time could prove highly embarrassing to the Bureau, if compromised. Therefore, authority to check such records is being denied.

b3
b7E

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MAY 5 1967
COMM-FBI

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Gandy

56 MAY 17 1967

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OPTIONAL FORM NO 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

16

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 4/26/67

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS"
IS - C

Captioned publication, with editorial offices in San Francisco, has grown to a circulation of approximately 200,000 during the past two and one-half years after changing from a dissident Catholic laymen's publication to one concerned with social and political criticism, from a "left" perspective, of American society in general. The increment to the staff during the past two years has included many individuals with substantial subversive affiliations.

The recent growth and success of this publication has generated widespread interest and is the subject of several feature articles in national publications. Enclosed herewith are two Xerox copies of an article from the 4/3/67 issue of the "National Observer" which presents an impartial picture of the character of "Ramparts."

There is much speculation regarding the large and continuing losses sustained by this publication, which lacks ordinary advertising revenue. There is a large amount of subsidization and the source of these funds, estimated at $2,000,000.00, is the subject of widespread speculation.

Enthusiastic comments from members of the "New Left" reflect their recognition of the fact that for the first time, through the content of this publication, they have had impact upon U. S. Government policies and the operation of its agencies. This success may have influenced wealthy radicals to make large contributions and has probably gained the attention of foreign intelligence agencies to the vulnerability of U. S. agency operations to publicity and public opinion.

Letter to SAC, SF
BAW:pag
5/8/67

(Last)

REC-28 100-445393-42

ENCLOSURE

EX-112

8 APR 28 1967

② - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - San Francisco

EJO/jr
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/7/80 BY

~~IN SEC. SUBV. CONTROL~~

SF 157-459
EJO/jr

Because of the reasons stated above, it is recommended that the San Francisco Office initiate an investigation of "Ramparts" limited to checking the sources of its subsidized income through established bank contacts. [redacted] A discreet approach to this problem has been made because of the muckraking policies and the past attacks against the FBI of this publication.

b7D

Bureau authority is requested in this instance because of the sensitive nature of this investigation. It is assured that the limited inquiry proposed will be conducted without disclosure of our investigative attention to this publication.

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

A New Magazine Rakes the Muck, Finds Pay Dirt

Ramparts' Editors Uncloak The CIA, Blast Johnson, And Gather Subscribers

SAN FRANCISCO.

Ramparts magazine was joyously muckraking again last week. This time, the magazine charged that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was bribing and blackmailing foreign students in the United States to spy on their own countries.

And, this time, no one could easily dismiss the charges, for Ramparts was the first to uncover CIA activities in subsidizing supposedly private organizations. That expose led last week to an announcement by President Johnson himself that the CIA was now under orders to get out and stay out of the super-secret subsidizing business.

It has been a big year for the San Francisco-based magazine. In terms of prestige, the pay-off came a few days ago when the magazine's publisher, Edward Keating, accepted the George Polk Memorial Award for magazine reporting.

There is nothing in American journalism quite like Ramparts. It has made a career of rocking the boat and shaking the sensibilities. And, its youthful editors contend, it is just beginning to fight.

A Green Beret and Madame Nhu

The Polk award came at the end of a year of journalistic coups and exposes that have made the outspoken left-wing magazine one of the most controversial and highly publicized in the country. Its February 1966 issue offered a cover with the picture of a green-bereted Special Forces master sergeant and the words, "I Quit," and on the inside detailed his account of how Special Forces troops had been trained to torture prisoners in Vietnam and how the American military effort there resulted in the deaths of a lot of innocent civilians. In ~~April~~ 1966 the cover featured a cartoon of a busty Madame Nhu performing as a Michigan State University cheerleader and a story on that university's involvement with the CIA in Vietnam training police forces. The October 1966 number contained a long article attributing the ascendancy of Ronald Reagan to the political and moral failure of California's liberal Democrats in general and former Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown in particular.

Its most famous coup, however, is its most recent—the exposure late in February of the CIA's infiltration and financial support of the National Student Association (NSA), a supposedly independent organization whose primary function is to choose American college students to represent the country abroad in exchange programs and international student organizations. For the past 15 years, Ramparts learned, the CIA had been funneling funds into the NSA treasury through several apparently innocent and independent philanthropic foundations in return for which the NSA would send students abroad to present the U.S. position in the Cold War.

For a number of reasons, including acute distrust of some CIA activities in many quarters and shrewd publicizing by Ramparts, the case grew into a *cause celebre* that dominated headlines for a couple of weeks.

When the wreckage cleared, the NSA and its programs had been pretty widely discredited. In addition, a large number of union, trade, student, educational, and charitable organizations had been embarrassed by the subsequent revelation of their financial ties with the secret intelligence organization.

It was a coup that made Ramparts the sensation of the journalistic world and excited comparisons with the great muckrakers of the past: Lincoln Steffens, Ida

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SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
FBI — SAN FRANCISCO

100-445393-442
ENCLOSURE 157-4577-118

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 The National Observer

New York, N.Y.

Date: 4-3-67
Edition: Weekly
Author: James R. Dickenson
Editor: W.E. Giles
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SF
☐ Being Investigated

Tarbell, Upton Sinclair, S. S. McClure. In many respects it is difficult to understand why Ramparts was able to make a wave of such proportions. A monthly, its circulation is a little more than 200,000 and was only half that six months ago.

Its editorial offices, once described as having the happy haphazardness of a college humor magazine's quarters, are located in a nondescript hole-in-the-wall building on lower Broadway here, tucked in between the Homestead Ravioli Co. and a general contractor's office. Two blocks to the west is the flower of San Francisco night life — Yvonne D'Angers, topless dancer of the year; Gaye Spiegelman, topless mother of eight; topless rasslin' and several establishments claiming the honor of being the original home of the amateur topless night. To the east is a highly imperfect view of the Oakland Bay Bridge.

But one should not be misled by such humble circumstances. The magazine's editors are already so confident of its commercial as well as artistic success—they foresee a circulation of 400,000 or 500,000, within a year or so and eventually maybe even 1,000,000—that they are worried about the problem of boredom setting in. To head this off they are beginning to think in terms of branching off into the other fields of communications. They already have a contract with McGraw-Hill and are preparing books on such topics as the CIA, conservation, and married Catholic clergymen. They have started a "weekly" newspaper, the Sunday Ramparts, which generally manages to come out every two weeks. They also are talking of acquiring a television station and starting their own advertising agency. Their purpose in all this is to start a new trend in American communications—to utilize the techniques of the modern commercial mass media to put across unpopular and unorthodox ideas and to make money doing it.

It Takes on Anybody

If Ramparts is any indication, they could succeed. Ramparts is a slick, professionally edited publication that offers highly imaginative art and pictorial work in full color. Its break-even point is estimated somewhere around 250,000 circulation, which its editors and backers expect to reach within the next year, a remarkably short time for a magazine that has published as a monthly for only about 2½ years. As far as being unpopular and unorthodox is concerned, it bellicosely takes on just about anybody that gets in its way—the CIA, the Department of Defense, the liberal establishment, the war in Vietnam, the oil industry, the Catholic Church, the New Left, the Warren Commission, the "hippy" movement that has sprung up here (see Page 24), the homosexual influence in modern art and culture. You name it—and Ramparts has something to say about it, but on its own terms.

Mouthpiece for the New Left?

Although Ramparts stands well to the left of most of the rest of the country on most issues, the editors deny to the man that they are the mouthpiece of the New Left or such organizations as Students for a Democratic Society and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee before they are even asked. They have aroused the ire of SNCC and Mort Sahl as well as the CIA and have been on balance considerably kinder to Ronald Reagan than to his liberal Democratic foes here in California, particularly Pat Brown, whose opinion of the magazine as reported to them is generally unprintable. American liberalism in fact is their chief villain, responsible for the war in Vietnam (which they hate), the "failure" of the war on poverty, the plight of the Negro in America, and just about every social ill in the country. In their eyes American liberalism has almost no redeeming virtue. "Doesn't Ramparts every say anything nice about anybody?" Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, who is not one of Rampart's favorite people, recently asked managing editor Robert Scheer. "Yes," he replied, "but we have to have something to go on."

Edward Keating, the man who started all this, is a bland-looking mild-mannered man of 41; a lawyer and businessman who had inherited some money and decided back in 1962 to spend some of it publishing a literary and cultural journal for liberal, independent Catholic intellectuals. In May 1962, Ramparts first appeared as a quarterly, actually a "fifthly" as it came out five times a year. He soon became convinced, however, that it was an outlet that apparently wasn't badly needed. "There weren't as many independent Catholic intellectuals as I had thought," he says. "Most of them are too busy circling the bishops."

Mr. Hinckle's Persuasion

During this time he had hired a young San Franciscan named Warren Hinckle III, then a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle, to do publicity for Ramparts on a part-time basis. In 1964, Mr. Hinckle, who could be content with the leisurely pace of a quarterly about as easily as he could breathe through his ears, persuaded his employer to make the journal a monthly general magazine and he became its editor.

Mr. Hinckle is now 28, a tall, rather pudgy, hard-driving, hard-drinking, fast-talking Irishman. His hair style gives him a vaguely Edwardian look and his addiction to bright shirts and suspenders and his restless energy lend an air of flamboyance. As a reporter for the Chronicle he battled against the construction of a freeway through the Golden Gate Park and is at least partially responsible for the fact that it never came about.

He also was somewhat more conservative in his views than he is now. He once covered a civil-rights sit-in at the Mark Hopkins Hotel for the Chronicle and put it down as an unnecessary nuisance. One of the demonstrators was his present managing editor, Mr. Scheer, then a graduate student at Berkeley. "He was an Irish racist," Mr. Scheer laughs. "I think he really changed when he covered the march on Selma for the magazine." It must have been some change. A Ramparts director describes him now as a man with a profound social vision. He is also described by his publisher, his subordinates, and several members of the board of directors as a "genius," a term that invariably seems to come up in any discussion of him. This is a pretty tough encomium to live up to, but there is no denying that he has the good editor's instinct for what a good story is, how to play it, and how to publicize it.

The First Publicity Break

Not the least of his editorial assets is the fact that he doesn't have to have a roof fall in on his head. The magazine's first big publicity break—the confessions of Donald Duncan, the Special Forces sergeant—is a good example. In November 1965, Mr. Duncan, now the magazine's military editor, addressed a Vietnam Day Committee rally in Berkeley that Warren Hinckle and Robert Scheer happened to attend. Winner of a Silver Star in Vietnam, Mr. Duncan told the group approximately the same story that appeared in the magazine several months later. To Mr. Hinckle it seemed a natural, and his fear was that one of the local newspapers would get wind of what the sergeant was saying in public and do a story on him that would take the edge off their exclusive. No one did.

Nor was anything particularly new about their story on Michigan State and the CIA. The fact that certain Michigan State professors had been working for the CIA in helping set up police forces in South Vietnam and advising the Diem regime had been detailed in a book by two of their colleagues and the material had been lying around the Ramparts office for some time.

"It was Warren who figured out how to do the story, to give it the thrust of the CIA subsidizing and corrupting a part of a university, that put it across," says Sol Stern, the assistant managing editor. "We all knew about it but he gave it the angle it needed." The same was true of the NSA story. Ramparts got the story from a disillusioned NSA officer named Michael Wood, who had known nothing of the CIA involvement until taken into the confidence of the NSA president.

It Was a Team Effort

The story was a team effort, with several staff members working on it and students that they knew helping with the research on the foundations involved in New York City, Boston, Washington, and Dallas. "I thought at any time the whole thing would fall apart," Sol Stern, who wrote the final story, said last week. "We were going primarily on the tip of one guy and he might turn out to be unreliable. We were expecting complete denials and a great hassle over its credibility. So Warren told me to write it low key, to build up the facts slowly and steadily, to give it all the credibility we could. It's really kind of dull, moves very slowly, but, given the kind of story it is, I think that's right."

Mr. Stern, a tall, quiet New Yorker of 31, leaned back in his chair and smiled slightly at the memory. "But you know there were no denials at all. When I finally talked to the NSA people they just looked kind of funny and said, 'Oh, that story, you don't want to do that. Too many people will get hurt.' Then was when I knew we had it."

The way the NSA story broke was something of a journalistic first and demonstrated again the magazine's tendency to unorthodoxy. The story was announced in full-page ads in the New York Times and the Washington Post a couple of weeks before the magazine came out, probably the first time in American journalistic history that a scoop was broken in advertisements in other publications. By the time many subscribers got the magazine the full story plus all the secondary revelations that were dug up by various newspapers had been told and retold, examined and analyzed from almost every point of view.

"Well, look, we had to move," Mr. Hinckle said last week, "It was starting to leak out. Some of the big Eastern papers were getting onto it and NSA was starting to panic. I was afraid we were going to get our own story shot out from under us." He paused and took a sip from a reasonably unorthodox luncheon cocktail, a bourbon and grapefruit juice. "That's the trouble with the monthly magazine. Too much time lag. It's hard to stay on top of breaking news, but even so, we try. That's one reason why we started the weekly paper, the Sunday Ramparts."

It may be difficult for a monthly magazine to keep on top of the news, but Ramparts tries. They think little of delaying the press run for several days until they get a story completely nailed. Once, when it was still a quarterly, Mr. Hinckle tore the book up at the last minute to put in an interview with Rolf Hochhuth, author of *The Deputy*, a controversial play critical of the Pope Pius XII's attitude toward Nazi Germany in World War II. The art director, not accustomed to such frenetic front-page tactics, quit. The habit of missing deadlines is such that the magazine missed its September issue altogether last fall. So what's in a name? They called August's successor October and put out a double issue in January by way of making it up to the subscribers.

"We decided first of all that we were going to put the magazine out our way or not at all," Mr. Hinckle continued. "In the first place, it's going to be a professional slick publication, full color, in the American idiom, the sort of thing the American people will read. And we're not going to be dull, which is the ultimate journalistic sin. We're also going to break all the rules we want. One rule is that you never have black on the cover for newsstand sales. We almost always have a black border around the cover picture and our newsstand sales are up to about 130,000, about five times what they were a year ago. And now I hear some other magazine is going to do the same."

'Edit It for Ourselves'

He continued hacking away at the bourbon and grapefruit juice, the words pouring out seasoned with profanity. "And we didn't decide what audience we were going after, which is common, make a market survey, and things like that. We decided to edit it for ourselves and whoever wanted to come along was welcome. We're not out to change the whole publishing spectrum. We intend to use professional, commercial journalistic techniques to bring unpopular ideas to the public for debate and to make money doing it. We want to go into television and do what educational TV is supposed to do but hasn't because it's so dull. Produce shows on the important public issues but professionally and profitably as commercial television does, and if we succeed then others can too."

Dugald Stermer, Ramparts' art director and the man along with Warren Hinckle who sets its style, smiled and nodded agreement. Mr. Stermer is 30, wears button-down collars, and looks like the advertising man he was in Houston before coming to work for Ramparts. Together they look like two successful graduates of a wealthy private school. "Same with advertising," Mr. Stermer said. "We'll take almost any account, including the big ones that advertise a lot, but particularly those that can't get agencies to take them now. Political groups and doctors who favor legalized abortion or are against cigarets because of cancer. But they'll pay just like anyone else."

Both Warren Hinckle and Dugald Stermer are Californians—Mr. Hinckle a graduate of the University of San Francisco and Mr. Stermer a UCLA graduate.

In its brashness, breeziness, and exuberance, its flipness and self-conscious independence, Ramparts is peculiarly Western in flavor. It is interesting that Robert Scheer and Sol Stern, both New Yorkers and graduates of the City College of New York, think that such a magazine couldn't have been published in the East. "New York is too jaded, too cynical," Mr. Scheer says. "The magazine is too simple, too naive, too exuberant to have survived there." Sol Stern agrees. "Out here we're out of the literary and cultural mainstream. It gives us a chance to do something new, something a little more swinging. The East is too stuffy, too hypercritical. I don't think we could have survived back there in the early days. We'd be okay now since we've made our name, but I don't think we could have stood the criticism when we were younger."

The magazine's irreverence is not appreciated by everyone, needless to say, particularly its targets and it has some supporters who aren't sold on it either. One is Martin Peretz, a member of the board of directors and a Ph.D. in political science from Harvard who now teaches there. He is an Easterner, a native of New York City. "It's not my intellectual style," he says, and adds somewhat condescendingly: "I view it with an amused detachment and I'm critical of it being flip and hippy in a San Francisco sort of way." But then he adds by way of atonement: "We Harvard people tend to be pretty stuffy."

But for all his reservations on taste and style, Mr. Peretz reflects the views of those who read and support the magazine. These include: Opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam, a belief that the country needs to change its attitude toward the Cold War and communism, dissatisfaction with domestic progress on civil rights, and the elimination of poverty. The political label the editors use to describe themselves are "left liberal" and "left-center liberal." They reject the orthodox liberalism of Lyndon Johnson and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., as corrupt and power seeking and responsible for what they consider to be the mistakes of U.S. postwar foreign policy. In a sense, they feel more sympathy for the right wing in American politics than for the liberal center. "The right wing will at least debate the issues even though their solutions may be simplistic and primitive," Mr. Hinckle says. "But the liberals won't even talk about them."

Its Far-Left Critics

The magazine isn't universally popular on the far left either. Its flipness and frank aspiration to a place in the commercial market offend many sincere ideologues, and to many on the far left Ramparts is just another bourgeois liberal mouthpiece. "I think a lot of kids who are alienated glory in it and are sort of offended that we're out to turn a profit," Sol Stern says. "But I think we're enough a part of the protest and dissent of the past few years that a lot will stay with us."

Although they reject ties with the New Left, they do consider themselves spokesmen for the New Politics, the slogan Robert Scheer used when he ran for Congress in 1966. "We're the voice of people who want issues, not personalities, in politics," Warren Hinckle says. "We appeal to the young people and they're wary and skeptical. The old Cold War dialog doesn't sit well with them and they're interested in Vietnam, the Pentagon, the ghettos, not the old welfare issues of the '30s and '40s that the old liberals are still hung up on. We regard ourselves as a professional journal with a point of view with facts we've dug up to back it up. We don't settle for theoretical essays."

To this end, Ramparts has been celebrated for reviving the old art of muckraking. There *is* a resemblance to the old muckrakers; there's a sense of moral outrage, the conviction of wrongdoing in high places, the delight in getting the "inside" story.

Ramparts' version, however, is also more sophisticated. The old muckrakers looked for graft and corruption in high places and assumed that once it was exposed all would be well. The assumptions underlying many of Ramparts' exposes, particularly those involving the CIA, is that evil and corruption are the work of well-meaning men who believe that what they are doing is necessary and desirable. That's a much more difficult matter to deal with.

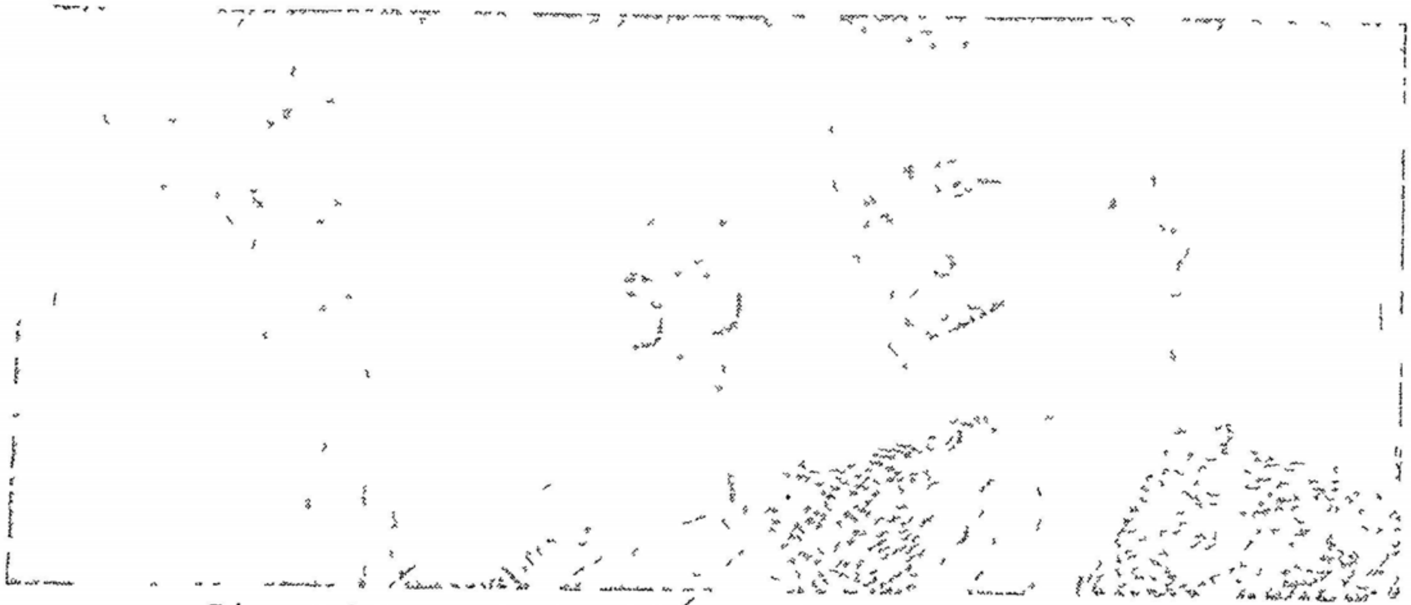
There is no reason to believe Ramparts won't keep on muckraking, unless it gets too successful or too smug or too cute or too given to dissent purely for dissent's sake. These are possibilities that are now beginning to bother some of the editors. It still may be a bit soon for that, however, because if the battle for survival has been won it's not by much.

The editors predict survival for another year or a year and a half, however, based on their present financial support; that's as long a period of grace as they've ever had. The magazine so far has lost about $2,000,000, of which $600,000 is Edward Keating's. Its recent success has brought in additional backers, some wealthy and sympathetic intellectuals such as Frederick Mitchell, a professor of history at the University of Kansas, who has invested $200,000 in it. The board of directors also includes such as D. de Jersey Grut, an investment counselor, and the magazine is coming to be regarded as a solid enough property that it is attracting orthodox investment support. It also is getting 14 pages of advertising for its April issue, a record and gravy as far as the editors are concerned. The magazine is designed to survive on its circulation on the theory that this will keep it free of advertisers' pressures. At any rate, the editors of Ramparts expect to be around making waves for at least a while longer, and there are a lot of people who will not be particularly delighted to hear this.

—James R. Dickenson

—Bill Sauro

Ramparts' team: Mr. Keating, publisher, and Mr. Hinckle, editor.



Editors Sol Stern and Robert Scheer, art director Dugald Stermer.

[illegible]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
~~Sullivan~~
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Wick

DATE: 5-1-67

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: WARREN HINCKLE III
PUBLISHER
RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

Calif.

BACKGROUND:

The April 28th edition of "The Washington Post" carries an item indicating that captioned individual, who has been executive editor of Ramparts, is taking over as publisher of the magazine in place of Edward M. Keating, who has been fired by the directors of Ramparts. The Director has asked, "What do we know about Hinckle?"

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Warren Hinckle is listed as a sponsor of a State-Wide Convention on Power and Politics which was to be held September 30-October 2, 1966, under the sponsorship of Californians for Liberal Representation (CLR). CLR is described as "an effective organization for liberal thought and action." It is known that various segments of the Southern California District Communist Party urged its members to participate in the CLR-sponsored convention, mentioned above, which was to be held at East Los Angeles College. (100-442778-6, ep9)

CC

Warren J. Hinckle, executive editor-associate publisher, and two of the staff members of Ramparts in its April, 1966, issue wrote an article disclosing that Michigan State University (MSU) had acted as a cover for the [redacted] in South Vietnam from 1955 to 1959 dur b3 MSU's 7-year operation of U. S. Government Technical Assistance Progra b7E for the late president, Ngo Dinh Diem's regime. ("Facts on File")

100-445393-43

[redacted] Referral/Consult

[redacted] In a Scripps-Howard article which was published in "The Washington Daily News" on

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-442778

2 - ENCLOSURE

MAY 10 1967

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Wick - Enclosure
1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure
el (8)

CONTINUED - OVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/7/80 BY

CRIME RESEARCH

56 MAY 16 1967

February 17, 1967, Hinckle was interviewed and quoted as saying:

> "It isn't so much that we are against the CIA as such. We believe there should be a give and take of all kinds of interest groups in this country and we are concerned at such widespread and still spreading secret control by the Government of so many so-called independent public institutions. This penetration undermines their independence."

In response to a question concerning the John Birch Society, the article quoted Hinckle as remarking:

> "The right wing isn't necessarily so terrible. It wasn't the right wing or the military that got us into Vietnam -- and Ramparts has been very, very critical of that. It was the Arthur Schlesingers and the Jack Kennedys.
>
> "American Liberalism today is a corrupted, decaying, sluggish, stagnant doctrine that has only a rhetoric but no means of fitting itself to reality. It is time for a re-examination of its basic policies.
>
> "The great tragedy, the stupidity, of this CIA penetration is that after all these years it turns out that our supposedly free students have been tied to a secret Government apparatus just as we have been accusing the communists of doing."

b6
b7C

The Identification Division has a record for [redacted] FBI Number [redacted] who was born in [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] A copy of his identification record is attached.

[redacted] Referral/Consult

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

0-19 (Rev. 12-9-66)

Tolson ✓
DeLoach ✓
Mohr ✓
Wick ✓
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale ✓
Rosen ✓
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Keating Fired As Publisher Of Ramparts

A 8

SAN FRANCISCO, April 27 (AP)—Directors of Ramparts magazine fired Edward M. Keating as president and publisher.

Keating, Menlo Park attorney, has been a principal angel of the aggressive journal that exposed the Central Intelligence Agency's secret financing of the National Students Association.

After the board's action, Keating countered with a demand for immediate payment of $215,000. He said Ramparts owed him this amount in open debt. He estimated his Ramparts investment at $860,000.

Keating's functions as publisher were taken over by Warren Hinckle III, 28, executive editor.

What do we know
about Hinckle?

ALL INFO[illegible] CONTAINED
HEREIN [illegible]
DATE 7/17/80 BY

Memo Jones to Wick 5/1/67 TDH/GW

REC-51 100-445393-4

The Washington Post Times Herald	A-8
The Washington Daily News	
The Evening Star (Washington)	
The Sunday Star (Washington)	
Daily News (New York)	
Sunday News (New York)	
New York Post	
The New York Times	
World Journal Tribune (New York)	
The Sun (Baltimore)	
The Worker	
The New Leader	
The Wall Street Journal	
The National Observer	
People's World	
Date	APR 28 1967

ENCLOSURE

MAY 10 1967

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

4-572 (Rev. 7-18-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN REG NO 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO The Director

DATE April 12, 1967

FROM N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

Pages H3901-H3903. Congressman Ashbrook, (R) ~~Ohio~~, stated the April 8, 1967, issue of Human Events, the national conservative newsweekly, featured an extensive article on Ramparts, the leftwing publication which brought to public attention recently the CIA-NASA affair. - - - - Newsworthy items to Human Events include the warnings of J. Edgar Hoover on the Communist Party, U. S. A. and Communist front groups, - - - - and reports on a multiplicity of issues bearing on the interests of the United States - - - -. In direct contrast are some of the targets of Ramparts anti-U. S. tirades. Director Hoover and the FBI, along with the congressional investigative committees, are fair game. - - - - Differences in policies and methods are to be expected in these troublous times. However, in an era when totalitarianism coverts the lives of free men everywhere, the best interests of the United States in defense of its security and survival is a fair criterion on which to base such policies and methods. In this light, the following article on Ramparts by M. M. Morton, which is the pen name of an expert on internal security affairs, should be judged. I include the article, 'The Inside Story of Ramparts Magazine,' from the April 8, 1967, issue of Human Events in the Record. The article is set forth in the Record. The article points out Ramparts' efforts to discredit the FBI, CIA, HCUA and cites several examples concluding: "Nor has Ramparts any intention of slowing down. Though $1.2 million in debt, its backers are putting out a weekly tabloid (Sunday Ramparts) and are trying to acquire an advertising agency, a book publishing house and an ultra-high frequency TV station to promote its virulently left-wing views." The article indicated that Ramparts 'also keeps a stable of nationally known FBI-baiters - - - -. Fred J. Cook has checked in with more warmed-up minutiae of alleged FBI malfeasance and a renegade ex-FBI agent, William Turner, is a Ramparts staff writer. Several of Turner's articles have criticized his former employer in abusive terms.' (William W. Turner entered on duty as an Agent on February 3, 1951, and was dismissed on July 19, 1961.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EX-110
REC-35

100-445393-44

NOT RECORDED
145 MAY 10 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for April 11, 1967 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

62 MAY 22 1967

OPTIONAL FORM NO 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/9/67

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS"
IS - C
Bufile 100-445393
SF 157-459

[redacted]

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[redacted]

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Re Bulet to San Francisco, 5/8/67, under the caption of "Ramparts" and Bulet to San Francisco, 5/5/67, under the caption [redacted]

San Francisco is requesting clarification on which instruction in referenced letters will prevail in the investigation of "Ramparts" magazine.

REC 22

100-445393-45

13 MAY 10 1967

④ - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (1 - 157-459)
(1 - 100-46832)
EJO/jr
(6)

Let to SF re "Ramparts", 5/18/67

① INTR SEC.

SUBV. CONTROL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/1/80 BY

55 MAY 19 1967

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DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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INTELL DIV
MAY 12 3 17 PM '67

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

IMPORTANT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE(S) 62 116395 (SSC), 62 116464 (HSC)

SSC 62-116395-470 HSC

ACC ______ DATE ______ ACC ______ DATE ______

DEL ✓ DATE 10/17/75 DEL ______ DATE ______

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING JR WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT. DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100 106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

______ TO DEPT

1 - Mr. Shaw
1 - Mr. Wells

SAC, San Francisco (157-459) 5-18-67

Director, FBI (100-445393)

"RAMPARTS"
IS - C

Reurlet 5-9-67 and Bulet 5-5-67.

Inasmuch as the Department has authorized an investigation of "Ramparts," you are to follow the instructions set out in Bulet 5-5-67. The investigation of "Ramparts" is to be conducted separately from the investigation of [redacted]

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Of particular interest in your investigation is the extent of Communist Party or other subversive influence in "Ramparts."

Submit a report to the Bureau by 6-17-67. Include your recommendation as to whether further investigation is warranted. This investigation must be conducted discreetly due to the possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.

BAW:mh (5)

NOTE:

"Ramparts" is a leftist publication which has been highly critical of U.S. foreign policy. It is self-described by one of its editors as an "intellectual muckraker." [redacted] By letter dated 4-26-67 the Department requested further investigation concerning [redacted] "Ramparts." Due to the sensitivity of investigating a magazine, we have previously refused permission to the San Francisco Office to check the bank account of "Ramparts." However, in view of the Department's request (which has been furnished to San Francisco), we should open an investigation of "Ramparts."

MAILED 2
MAY [illegible]
COMM-FBI

EX-110 REC- 59 100-445393-46

MAY 18 1967

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62 MAY 25 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

IMPORTANT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC 62-116395-2978 HSC

ACC. ________ DATE ________ ACC. ________ DATE ________

DEL. ✓ DATE 10/7/75 DEL. ________ DATE ________

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

________ TO DEPT.

MAY 17 4 55 PM '67

REC'D - SULLIVAN
FBI - JUSTICE

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-09-2011

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Wick
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO Mr. Wick

DATE 5/12/67

FROM M. A. Jones

SUBJECT IRVING F. LAUCKS, FREDERICK C. MITCHELL, AND LOUIS HONIG
INVESTORS IN "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

BACKGROUND:

An article appearing in the 5/8/67 edition of the "Washington Post" identified captioned individuals as investors in "Ramparts" magazine. According to this article, Laucks, described as an 85-year-old retired inventor residing in Santa Barbara, California, owns 5 percent of its stock; Mitchell, an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Kansas, reportedly has contributed $300,000 to the magazine and owns 20 percent of its stock; Honig, described as a San Francisco advertising man, allegedly owns 10 percent of its stock.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

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[redacted]

Irving F. Laucks, born 7/3/82, at Akron, Ohio, holds a Master of Science degree from Case Institute of Technology (1904), and is reportedly a retired multimillionaire. He is former President of Laucks Laboratories, Inc., and Director of Laucks Chemical Company.

Laucks' last known address was 706 Rockwood Drive, Santa Barbara, California, and in February, 1967, he was allegedly connected with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara. A former employee described Laucks as a multimillionaire who in the past resided on a large tract of land near Healdsburg, California, and whose basic interests are "peace" and "reciprocal disarmament." According to this same source, Laucks was a sincere old man who regarded himself as a philosopher, and who maintained an extensive mailing list. He reportedly has written several articles dealing with his interests and corresponds voluminously. An article appearing in the "Santa Rosa Press Democrat," a newspaper published at Santa Rosa, California, in 3/27/60, discussed Laucks' pacifism and stated that he "writes letters to the President of the United States and some 2,000 other prominent people," and that his aim is to get "people to educate themselves and let their leaders know they want peace."

ENCLOSURE

REC-75

100-445393-47

ST-105

MAY 19 1967

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~
~~REASON-FCIM II,~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~

~~SECRET~~

57 MAY 29 1967

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~~SECRET~~

Laucks was the subject of a Security-Communism investigation which we concluded in February, 1967. In 1960, a source furnished a copy of a small pamphlet written by Laucks entitled "War! What Can I Do About It" which was a typical pacifist tract which urged the reader to work for peace through disarmament and to join an organization working for peace. Laucks was also reportedly the signer of a letter to President Johnson dated 3/22/64, which enclosed a memo, "The Triple Revolution," that attempted to point out current economic, military and social changes.

A confidential source advised that on 8/10/65, a group of Communist Party (CP) members met at Santa Barbara, California, and discussed a project to start a new Marxist School in Los Angeles. It was announced that Irving F. Laucks was to be contacted to see if he would make a contribution to the new school. Reportedly, Laucks was one of the sponsors of the New Left School (NLS) in Los Angeles and had donated funds to that school. His name was listed as a "resource person" in the Spring, 1966, brochure of the NLS. The NLS allegedly originated in the Education Commission of the Southern California District of the CP.

Information was received that on 6/24/65, Bill Taylor, Vice-Chairman of the Southern California District CP, contacted various CP members in Santa Barbara and requested that Laucks be contacted to see whether Laucks would be interested in attending the Helsinki Peace Conference, to be held in July, 1965. Laucks supposedly declined because of his age and the hardships which traveling incurred. Information received in December, 1966, indicated that Laucks had contributed $100 for the War Crimes Tribunal being organized by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

On 2/6/67, a source familiar with general CP activities in the Santa Barbara area advised that Laucks was not known to have ever been active in the CP. [redacted]

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Literature announcing rallies organized by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam scheduled for 4/15/67 carried Laucks' name as a sponsor.

The files of the Identification Division contain no arrest data identifiable with Laucks.

CONTINUED - OVER

~~SECRET~~

Frederick C. Mitchell reportedly invested $200,000 in "Ramparts" magazine while a graduate student at the University of California. Mitchell supposedly obtained this money through inheritance. He reportedly has since loaned the magazine an additional $100,000. The "Daily Californian," a University of California at Berkeley campus newspaper, on 3-11-63, carried a paid advertisement objecting to the exclusion of Herbert Aptheker from speaking on the campus. The advertisement carried a list of individuals protesting the ban and one of the names appearing thereon was Frederick C. Mitchell. (100-445393-29) S

The current telephone directory of Lawrence, Kansas, lists Mitchell's address as 1539 Vermont Street. No arrest record identifiable with Mitchell could be located in the files of the Identification Division.

No pertinent information identifiable with Louis Honig could be located in Bufiles. The files of the Identification Division contain an arrest record for one Louis Honig, born 10-11-11, who was arrested by the Marin County, California, Sheriff's Office (San Rafael) on 7-5-41 for violation of Section 502-250a of the California Vehicle Code. Section 502 of the Code involves driving while under the influence of liquor (misdemeanor). The record indicates Honig was released on bail.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

~~SECRET~~

0-19 (Rev. 12-9-66)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

Tolson ✓
DeLoach ✓
Mohr ✓
Wick ✓ b6
Casper b7C
Callahan
Conrad ✓
Felt
Gale ✓
Rosen ✓
Sullivan ✓
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Showdown Set Over Control Of Ramparts

By Julius Duscha
Special to The Washington Post

SAN FRANCISCO, May 7—Stockholders of Ramparts will meet Monday afternoon in the magazine's offices down the street from San Francisco's topless night club area to decide who should be their top man.

Warren Hinckle III, the 28-year-old editor of the controversial magazine that exposed CIA financing of the National Student Association, is in a bitter struggle for control of Ramparts with Edward M. Keating, a 42-year-old businessman who started the magazine, poured more than $800,000 of his own money into the still-profitless venture, and remains the biggest single stockholder.

Ten days ago, the board of directors of Ramparts fired Keating as publisher by a vote of 13 to 1 after he tried to throw out Hinckle, whom he hired as editor three years ago.

Hinckle, who has turned the magazine into one of the most talked-about publications in the United States, is expected to win the showdown at the stockholders' meeting, which was called by Keating.

$215,000 Owed Keating

The stockholders are also expected to try to resolve a conflict over how the magazine will repay Keating $215,000 in loans he made to Ramparts since starting it as a liberal Catholic publication five years ago.

If Keating should be able to force an immediate repayment of the money he claims is due him, this could put the magazine's future in grave jeopardy.

Under Hinckle's direction, Ramparts has shifted its focus drastically and become an outspoken opponent of the war in Vietnam and has advocated development of a radical politics in the U.S. seeking the establishment of a New Left movement divorced from the Democratic Party.

But the argument between Hinckle and Keating has no ideological base. It is a pure power struggle similar to those that have gone on in the huge corporations that the magazine opposes.

Headed Demonstration

Keating was chairman of the march and demonstration against the war in Vietnam, which was held in San Francisco last month, and he ran for Congress last year as a New Left candidate. He lives in the stylish San Francisco suburb of Atherton.

There have been, however, many arguments between Hinckle and Keating over the kind of investigations the magazine should undertake.

The editors claim that Keating wanted Ramparts to publish an article showing that the Knights of Columbus were engaged in a plot to overthrow the U.S. Government.

Keating also wanted, the editors maintain, the magazine to outfit a reporter with a hollow shoe containing a compass and a saw blade and then send the man to Louisiana to investigate reports of a slave labor camp there. The compass and the saw blade were to be used to get out of the labor camp.

Another complaint by the Ramparts editors against Keat-

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN
DATE 7/7/80~~

The Washington Post
Times Herald A1
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star (Washington)
The Sunday Star (Washington)
Daily News (New York)
Sunday News (New York)
New York Post
The New York Times
World Journal Tribune
(New York)
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World MAY 8 1967
Date

100-445375-4

12 ENCLOSURE

ing is that he was not much of a fund raiser. They cite his unsuccessful effort to reach Hugh Hefner, publisher of Playboy magazine, who was said to be always sleeping or swimming when Keating tried to get in touch with him.

From 1962 until early in 1965, Keating put most of his private fortune, which came from real estate, into Ramparts.

When Keating ran out of money, Hinckle, whose long, straight, black hair and fondness for vests gave him an Edwardia look, and Robert Scheer, the bearded managing editor of the magazine who almost won the Democratic nomination for Congress in Berkeley last year, began to raise money themselves to keep Ramparts going.

Their principal source has been Frederick C. Mitchell, a man of inherited wealth whom Scheer knew when both he and Mitchell were graduate students on the University of California's Berkeley campus.

Has $200,000 Invested

Mitchell, now an assistant professor of history at the University of Kansas, has put $200,000 in this magazine and loaned it another $100,000.

Another source tapped by Hinckle and Scheer is Louis Honig, a San Francisco advertising man who has invested $100,000. Another investor is Irving Laucks of Santa Barbara, Calif., an 85-year-old retired inventor who has put $50,000 into the magazine.

Hinckle and Scheer have raised about $1 million, half of it in capital and half in loans, during the past 18 months while Keating's role in the operation of the magazine was largely that of a figurehead.

Keating still owns 42 per cent of the Ramparts stock, Mitchell has 20 per cent, Honig 10 per cent and Laucks 5 per cent. The rest of the stock is spread among investors with small holdings.

No Votes but His Own

The Ramparts editors claim that Keating has no votes for regaining control of the magazine other than his own and that all of the other stockholders want Hinckle to run the magazine.

Although the editors of Ramparts claim that the magazine's circulation has increased threefold since last fall, from 74,000 in October to 228,000 in March when the expose of the CIA was published, Ramparts is still losing money.

Hinckle believes that the magazine can make money with a stable circulation of 200,000, but says that Ramparts will need at least another $250,000 in loans and capital to reach the break-even point.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

May 19, 1967

BY LIAISON

b6
b7C

[redacted]
The White House
Washington, D. C.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~DATE 7/17/00~~

b3
b7E

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

[redacted] [redacted] furnished this Bureau with information he received anonymously and which I felt might be of interest to the [redacted]

[redacted]

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

[redacted]

The central files of the FBI reveal that [redacted] [redacted] who was born on [redacted] has not been the subject of an investigation by the FBI. However, our files do reveal that in the past he has described his occupation as being a [redacted] [redacted] The February, 1967, issue of "Ramparts" magazine lists David Welsh as one of its two News Editors.

100-445393-46

REC 61

1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent direct) 1 - Mr. Gale (sent direct) 1 - Mr. Rosen (sent direct)

JCF:jma/llm/clc (8)

ME MAY 23 1967

Delivered to [redacted]
on

52 JUN 1 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[redacted]

The fingerprint files of the Identification Division of the FBI contain no arrest data identifiable with [redacted] based upon background information available.

b6
b7C

The central files of the FBI reveal that [redacted] [redacted] who was born on [redacted] [redacted] and who resided at [redacted] [redacted] has not been the subject of an investigation by the FBI. However, our files reveal the following information concerning him.

[redacted] it was reported that [redacted] [redacted] had advised the State Department that he planned to attend the [redacted] [redacted] He noted that he had arranged his attendance at this [redacted] [redacted] and was writing under their direction to let the State Department know the circumstances of his joining the [redacted]

In October, 1959, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted] [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Our files further reveal that Wallace M. Cohen, Chevy Chase, Maryland, [redacted] was a former member of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), having resigned in November, 1939. The NLG has been cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In February, 1941, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Mrs. Wallace Cohen, Chevy Chase, Maryland, was then a member of the Washington League of Women Shoppers, an organization cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a communist front.

[redacted]

In April, 1942, Mr. Wallace M. Cohen, Chevy Chase, Maryland, advised representatives of this Bureau that he believed he had been a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action (WCDA) at one time, but had never participated in any of the activities of that organization. The WCDA has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

b6
b7C

Civil fingerprints were located in the files of the FBI Identification Division which may be identical with those of [redacted] These fingerprints were searched through the criminal files of the Identification Division and no arrest record was located. It is not known whether this [redacted] is identical with [redacted]

The central files of the FBI reveal no derogatory or background data identifiable with the Overseas National Airways.

A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

Tolson ✓
DeLoach ✓
Mohr
Wick ✓
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan ✓
Tavel
Trotter
Tele Room
Holmes
Gandy

~~SECRET~~

TO Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE 5/25/67

FROM D. J. Brennan, Jr.

SUBJECT RAMPARTS

(C)

This is the left-wing publication which has attacked the Bureau and which has been conducting a vigorous campaign in opposition to our Vietnam policy.

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

ACTION:

For information.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

SJP:rab
(7)

7/17/80

~~CLASS. & REASON-FC~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~

100-445393-49

REC 31

18 JUN 5 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

54 JUN 12 1967

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 29, 1967

FROM : D. J. Brennan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
1 - Mr. Papich

SUBJECT: [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

REC- 59 100-445393-50

[redacted]

JUN 6 1967

For your information both Waskow and Raskin are connected with "Ramparts" magazine, which has been vigorously opposing United States policy in Vietnam and which in general has been following a procommunist line. Both of the individuals have been closely identified with the Institute of Policy Studies, members of which have collaborated with "Ramparts."

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

7/1/80 SP1 USK/ha

~~CLASS. & REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 5/29/87~~

CONTINUED - OVER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

55 JUN 14 1967

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ b6
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] Referral/Consult

ACTION:

For information.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

June 2, 1967

b6
b7C

REC-69 100-445393-51

C.D. Brennan

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of May 30th, with enclosure.

Although I would like to be of assistance, information in our files must be maintained as confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. I am sure you will understand the reason for this policy.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. Bufiles reflect that Ramparts Magazine is well known to the Bureau as it has been critical of the Bureau. [redacted] Referral/Consult
[redacted]

BGH:jfe (3)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN~~
~~DATE 7/17/80 BY~~

MAILED 2
JUN 2 1967
COMM-FBI

F B I

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan

JUN 14 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-25-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

TRUE COPY

Phone [redacted]

[redacted]

Office Hours:
10 to 12 A.M.
and 4 to 7 P.M.

b6
b7C

5/30/67

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing the address patch from a magazine I recently subscribed to. Before subscribing to this magazine I never received any Communist Literature in the U.S. mails. Since subscribing to this magazine I have received numerous pieces of obviously RED mail. Is this a communist publication?

When I subscribed I thought it was a publication to air the Republican political view.

Sincerely,

/s/ [redacted]

O Ramparts

ITC 6-1-67

Ack
6/2/67
BGH:gfe

REC-69

100-445393-51

14 JUN 7 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

PHONE 689-3819

[redacted]

OFFICE HOURS:
10 TO 12 A.M.
AND 4 TO 7 P.M.

b6
b7C

5/30/67

J. Edgar. Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing the address patch from a magazine I recently subscribed to. Before subscribing to this magazine I never received any communist literature in the U.S. mails. Since subscribing to this magazine I have received numerous pieces of obviously RED mail. Is this a communist publication?

When I subscribed I thoug it was a publication to ai the Republican political view

Sincerely,

[redacted]

1 TC: 6-1-67
meb

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ACK
6/2/67

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~DATE 7/1/80 BY~~

100-44[illegible]13-51

ENCLOSURE

Ramparts

1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colorado 80302

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

[redacted]

b6
b7C

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)
DATE 02-09-2011

~~SECRET~~

SAC, San Francisco (100-42399) **6/15/67**

Director, FBI (100-3-104-47)

1 - Mr. Kleinkauf
1 - Mr. Ryan

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(RAMPARTS)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

(S) [redacted] b1

[redacted] Referral/Consult

(U) [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

The Bureau appreciates your suggestion and in the event the enclosures may be put to use by you, through referral to a cooperative news media source, to further develop a strong case indicating foreign influence of "Ramparts," you should submit your recommendations.

1 - Bufile 100-445393 (Ramparts)

Enclosures - 2
DR:scr (6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~ SP1/9SKCh 7/7/80
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~ 2
DATE OF REVIEW

100-44

NOT RECORDED
98 JUN 5 1967

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN

62 JUN 21 1967

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

~~SECRET~~

..IONAL FORM NO 10
5010-104
UNITED STATES [illegible]RNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 6/16/67

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS"
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

b6
b7C

ReBulet to San Francisco, 5/18/67.

Enclosed herewith is report of SA [redacted] dated 6/16/67 concerning captioned publication.

It is recommended that this investigation be continued to trace the original source of funds transferred to "Ramparts" and to further identify the subversive backgrounds or foreign affiliations of "Ramparts'" officers, Directors and staff.

Leads have been set out in enclosed report to accomplish this objective.

Reference is made to information recently developed by the New Haven Office and included on page 21a of enclosed report. From information developed, it would appear that the editorial offices and possibly printing operation of "Ramparts" will move to East Hartford. In the recent struggle for control of the publication between KEATING, who was the founder, and WARREN HINCKLE, the Editor, it appears that RICHARD RUSSELL had the determining power because of his access to or control of funds.

It is suggested that the New Haven Office, which is in a closer position, may make an analysis of the financial transactions reported on page 21a and set out any additional investigative leads.

It is also suggested that investigation of [redacted] background, which is currently being conducted in investigation of the Southern Conference on Christian Leadership case, be expedited and directed by the pertinency of [redacted] to the "Ramparts" investigation.

REC- 55 100-445393-52

2-Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
1-New Haven (RM)
1-San Francisco
EJO:kah #9
(4)

ENCLOSURE

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/17/10 BY~~

JUN 19 1967

IND. SEC.

51 JUN 28 1967

-17- 5)

DATE: 02-14-2011
FBI INFO.
CLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
REASON: 1.4 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: 02-14-2036

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU ... ON

~~SECRET~~

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SAN FRANCISCO	SAN FRANCISCO	6/16/67	5/22 - 6/15/67

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR CLASSIFICATION ACTION

TYPED BY

TITLE OF CASE

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

REPORT MADE BY

[redacted]

b6
b7C

CHARACTER OF CASE

INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

~~Classified by 2909 DSlr~~
~~Exempt from GDS, Category~~ ~~1373~~
~~Date of Declassification Indefinite~~
~~4-2778~~

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY
REASON
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION

8-3-79
SP-3 TEIC/Nathan
8-2-83
6-16-87

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to San Francisco [redacted]

Deleted Copy Sent [redacted]
by letter 1-19-76
Per FOIA Request byf

Classified by SADR
Declassify on: OADR 340

ADMINISTRATIVE

(S)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

b1

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING

(S)

Case has been Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☑ No, Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

12-3-80

COPIES MADE:

⑤-Bureau (100-445393) (RM)
2-Boston (RM)
2-Chicago (RM) [redacted]
2-Denver (RM)
2-New Haven (RM) [redacted]
2-New York (RM)
2-Los Angeles (RM)
3-San Francisco (157-459)

Xcc's made of 76, 77 for HSCA review request 3-8-78. DJC/P+B 3-20

100-445393-53

~~SP6 GJ/WK OADR~~ (SP4/85 SP6BOH/GCL #211,326)

REC-5

JUN 19 1967

EC-72

Declassify on: 3-11-85 C.N 248,092

CLASS. & EXT. BY 3908
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 1,2,3
DATE OF REVIEW 6-16-97

DRK/wel

ST-105

b3
b7E

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT SENT TO NATIONAL ARCHIVES (JFK/ARCA) DATE 2-16-94

Cover Page A, Pages 76, 77, 78

Dissemination Record of Attached Report | **Notations**

Agency	ACSI, OSI, ONI, [redacted]	[redacted]	
~~Request Recd~~	Secret	SAC CSS	
Date Fwd.	6-23-67		
How Fwd.	R 1967		
By	CRC	RHK	

~~SECRET~~

157-1 [illegible]
[illegible]

SECRET

(S) [redacted] b1

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source | File Where Located

SF T-1 is [redacted] (X)(U) | [redacted] (X)(U)

SF T-2 is [redacted] | [redacted] b7D

SF T-3 is [redacted] (X)(U)

SF T-4 is [redacted]

SF T-5 is [redacted] (X)(U)

SF T-6 is [redacted]

SF T-7 is [redacted]

SF T-8 is [redacted]

- b -
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

b7D

SF 157-459
[illegible]

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source	File Where Located
[redacted]	
SF T-10 is [redacted]	
SF T-11 is [redacted]	
SF T-12 is [redacted] (~~S~~)(U)	[redacted]
SF T-13 is [redacted]	[redacted]
SF T-14 is [redacted]	157-459-47 (~~S~~)(U)
SF T-15 is [redacted] (~~S~~)(U)	
SF T-16 is [redacted]	[redacted] (~~S~~)(U)
SF T-17 is [redacted]	
SF T-18 is [redacted] (~~S~~)(U)	[redacted] (~~S~~)(U)

- C -
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-45
[illegible]

b7D

~~(SECRET)~~

Identity of Source | File Where Located

SF T-19 is [redacted] (S)(U) (C)(X)

SF T-20 is [redacted] (X)(U)

SF T-21 is [redacted] (X)(S)

(S) b1

[redacted]

SF T-22 is [redacted]

[redacted] (X) (U)

SF T-23 is [redacted] (X)(U)

SF T-24 is [redacted]

SF T-25 is [redacted]

SF T-26 is [redacted]

SF T-27 is [redacted]

[redacted]

(U)

(X)

- D -
COVER PAGE

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SF 157-459
EJC kah

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source	File Where Located
(S) SF T-28 is [redacted] ~~(C)~~ ~~(S)~~	[redacted] ~~C~~(U) b1 b7D
Note: [redacted] (S)	~~S~~ ~~C~~
SF T-29 is [redacted] (~~C~~)	[redacted] ~~C~~(U)
SF T-30 is [redacted]	[redacted] C(U)
SF T-31 is [redacted] ~~C~~(U)	[redacted] ~~C~~(U)
SF T-32 is [redacted]	[redacted]
(S) SF T-33 is [redacted] ~~(S)~~	[redacted] (C)(U)
(S) SF T-34 is [redacted] (~~C~~)(~~S~~)	[redacted] (~~C~~)

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-453
EJC:kah

~~SECRET~~

Identity of Source	File Where Located
(S) SF T-35 is [redacted] (4) ~~(S)~~	[redacted]
SF T-36 is [redacted]	

b1

b7D

Special Agents who provided information utilized in this report are identified as follows

Date of Activity	Special Agent
5/21/65	SA [redacted] et al
10/15/65	SA [redacted]
3/3/66	SA [redacted]

b6
b7C

LEADS:

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS: Furnish information identifying MARTIN PERETZ who was listed as Director of Ramparts and as a stockholder (see page 20) who solicited funds for Ramparts.

2. Furnish information on RICHARD A. RUSSELL (pages 19-22) a financial contributor to Ramparts and a member of the Board of Directors (page 34) who has business interests in Boston.

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: Identify E. A. SALK and Salk, Ward and Salk, Inc., who transferred $5,000 to Ramparts (see page 20).

DENVER

AT DENVER, COLORADO. Review registration statement of Ramparts Magazine, Inc. for Second Class mail privilege and report Publisher's statement on number and distribution of copies.

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459
EJO:kah

~~SECRET~~

2. Consider making discreet inquiry regarding nature of printing and distribution operation of Ramparts at Boulder, Colorado, and bank account at Boulder National Bank.

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA. Furnish identifying information regarding [redacted] [redacted] (page 21a).

b6
b7C

NEW HAVEN

AT NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT: Furnish identifying data [redacted]

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK Furnish identifying information on D. J. BERNSTEIN of Scarsdale, New York, and D. J. Bernstein Company, who was reported to have transferred $50,000 to Ramparts (pages 19-20), and who was listed as a member of the Board of Directors (page 34).

2. Furnish identifying data for [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] (see pages 19-20).

3. Furnish information regarding Mankauf Realty (see page 21a).

4. Furnish current data on [redacted] Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation supplemental to that in instant report.

5. Identify Lincoln Web Offset Company, Farmingdale, New York, and determine if $25,000 transferred to Ramparts was part of a commercial transaction or was a transfer of funds as a gift or loan.

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459
EJO:kan

~~SECRET~~

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO CALIFORNIA: Continue to discreetly monitor accounts and activities of Ramparts to determine source of funds and foreign affiliations.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)
DATE 02-09-2011

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

~~Classified by~~ ~~Declassify on: OADR~~ 6-18-85 bp7mac lpt # 2U63UU

Copy to

Report of [redacted]
Date 6/16/67

Office SAN FRANCISCO

b6
b7C

Field Office File # 157-459

Bureau File # 100-445393

Title RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

~~CLAS... DE...~~ 1-17-97 5668 SLD/KSR JFK

~~Cl... Ex... Date of Declassification Indefinite~~ 2909 1,2,3 4/27/78 DPJ/EB

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis

Ramparts originated in 1962 as little magazine of liberal Catholic thought published by EDWARD M. KEATING. In 1965 it broadened its coverage and appeared as a monthly magazine and circulation increased from 7,500 to 220,730 as of March, 1967. In May, 1967, KEATING voted out as publisher and he filed suit for $134,822 owed to him in loans and claimed he invested $860,000 in magazine. WARREN HINCKLE, Editor, claimed that magazine operating at $400,000 yearly loss. Identity of some of principal contributors set forth. Speeches and press conferences of Ramparts staff in opposition to Vietnam war reported. Subversive affiliations of Ramparts Directors and employees set forth. Contents of publication showing distortion and misrepresentation in its political reporting set forth.

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF~~ ~~DATE~~ 3/14/95 DP3/SMM

- P -

~~CLASSIFIED AND ... DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION~~ sp 3 TEK/KH/HL 8-2-79 1,2,3 6-16-87

12-3-80

DETAILS.

PREDICATION

This investigation was initiated to determine if Ramparts Magazine, Inc. is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 in that it has not registered with the Attorney General and may currently be engaged in acts of distribution of propaganda, acting as a political agent, collecting information, forwarding information, etc., while acting as the agent of a foreign principal.

3968 1,2,3 6-16-97 BRK/bdt

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~~Group 1~~
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~~Declassify on: OADR 6/24/88~~
~~CF 247894~~

~~FOI/PA # 247894~~
~~APPEAL #~~
~~CIVIL ACT. #~~
~~E.O. # 12356~~
~~DATE 6/24/83 INITIALS RIS~~

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~~INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

~~all fbi sources~~
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I. ORIGIN, CORPORATE AND [illegible] ACTIVITIES

A. History and Corporate Structure

Ramparts Magazine, Inc. was incorporated in California on September 11, 1961 with authorized capital of 50,000 shares at $10 par value. Originally incorporated as Layman's Press, Inc. and name was changed to Ramparts Magazine, Inc. by charter amendments in 1965. (U)

Dun and Bradstreet,
San Francisco, 5/23/67

The February 19, 1967 issue of the New York World Journal - Tribune contained an article by MORT YOUNG, staff member, captioned, "Ramparts Proud of Dissent, Even Among Its Executives" which read in part as follows:

> "Ramparts was founded in 1962 as a Roman Catholic lay publication by publisher Edward M. Keating, 42. He thought of starting the magazine on a hot Sunday in August 1961 while listening to a Catholic radio program. 'By God!' Keating remembered saying, 'I'm going to do it.' So he did.
>
> 'We started out defending Christianity. Now we seem to be attacking everything,' Keating commented. 'And now, instead of being Catholic we're catholic.'
>
> Keating had no argument with the Supreme Being, but what went against his grain was the church's attitude which he summed up as 'Either you accept it baby or you go to hell.' Keating loves the church, he said, but saw 'grievous faults being committed by members of the church's corporate structure.'
>
> 'Circulation in those early days was about 7,500 and every issue looked to Keating as though it had been dipped into red ink. Now, at 75 cents a copy and 130,000 copies sold a month, the issues still look as though they are dipped in red ink to Keating. The magazine carries almost no advertising and often skips an issue. Keating, however, is wealthy. Along with seven others, he has $1.2 million sunk into the publication."

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The April 28, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Chronicle contained an article captioned, "Publisher of Ramparts Fired", which read in its entirety as follows:

"Edward M. Keating, wealthy Peninsula lawyer, writer, iconoclast and sometime politician, has been fired as president and publisher of Ramparts, the San Francisco-based magazine he founded and into which he poured $860,000.

'The action was taken Wednesday night by the magazine's board of directors and Keating promptly countered by demanding immediate payment of $215,000 he says the publication owes him.

'Out of the sound and fury emanating from Ramparts' normally frenetic editorial offices on lower Broadway, only two facts were not contested:

'Keating was actually forced into 'inactivity' as Ramparts president and publisher 18 months ago.

His functions were promptly taken over by his youthful executive editor, Warren Hinckle III, now 28, who converted Ramparts from a 'little magazine' of liberal Catholic thought, into one of the fastest-growing and controversial journals in the country.

Hinckle contends that Keating would never have been removed by the magazine's board of directors if he had not attempted a 'coup', seeking resumption of financial control of the magazine.

Keating said he was forced to take action because the magazine's management 'failed to exercise fiscal and financial responsibility and . . . was endangering present and future investments.'

'Hinckle and Keating agree that at no time was there any conflict over the editorial content of the magazine.

Ramparts, founded in May of 1962, hit the bottom of the financial barrel when its circulation hit about 20,000.

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'Our new investors,' Hinckle said, 'wanted younger editorial people to run the magazine.

The present average age of Ramparts' personnel is about 26. Keating is in his early 40's and the magazine's business staff (also fired with Keating Wednesday night) average about 49 or 50.

Keating, Hinckle says, is the largest single stockholder in the corporation with about 30 per cent of the stock. Keating says his holdings are nearer 40 per cent.

With the magazine's circulation now somewhere between 200,000 and 250,000, Hinckle said expenses are running around $1.5 million a year. Stock in extent of $1.2 million has been issued.

"It is Keating's contention that he was fired by an 'illegal' board of directors -- one that improperly expanded from 13 to 21 and therefore had no authority to oust him.

He has called a meeting of the magazine's shareholders for May 8, hopeful that the board's action will be rescinded.

'All this really saddens me,' Hinckle said. 'I wish Keating had been happy as our honorary publisher and esteemed founder. This is a situation that distresses us all very much.

The May 7, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle contained an article captioned, "PRESS - Ramparts Breached" which read in part as follows: W

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"At a meeting of Ramparts' board of directors, in an air of what one participant called 'calm insanity,' Edward Keating, the magazine's founder and chief financial angel, was fired by a vote of 13-1. Only Keating voted to retain his services. U

"Said one board member: 'It was like the McCarthy hearings. He (Keating) kept saying "Point of order, Mr. Chairman" and things like that.' U

"Fiscal Problems U

"The move to oust Keating was apparently started by Warren Hinckle III, the editor, who 18 months ago, as part of a triumvirate which also included New Left ideologist Robert Scheer and artist and design expert Dugald Stermer, assumed effective control of Ramparts. U

"What apparently brought the matter to a head was a growing conviction by Keating that the board -- headed by Hinckle -- was financially irresponsible, what Keating called 'the inability of the company to practice budgetary controls. U

"Two weeks ago, Keating asked Connecticut businessman Richard Russell, unpaid head of Ramparts' financial committee, if he and three staffers could fly east to discuss Hinckle's 'fiscal irresponsibility.' U

'Russell immediately notified Hinckle, who said that Keating was trying to sow dissension. The next day, three members of the business staff were fired. Then, five days later, came the board meeting and Keating's ouster. U

"An Old Shoe' U

"After the meeting, a bitter Keating threatened to file -- and later did -- a lawsuit to recover $215,000 he claimed was owed him. U

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"'I put $860,000 into the magazine and they threw me out like an old shoe,' he said. 'That's the history of Ramparts -- when people are no longer financially important, out they go.' U

"Ramparts was not out of the financial depths by any means, however. The magazine lost an estimated $30,000 in March on a circulation of 228,730, and while this was half of what it lost per month a year ago, editor Hinckle estimated that the magazine would have to raise $250,000 in the next nine months to carry it past the break-even point." U

The May 9, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Chronicle contained an article captioned, "Ramparts Picks New Directors", which read in its entirety as follows: U

"The bitter intramural struggle for control of Ramparts Magazine, the controversial San Francisco-based journal, was given yesterday into the hands of a new, and still unidentified board of directors, in a five-minute meeting. U

"Stockholders of the magazine, six there in person and another six represented by proxy, elected eight directors who had been nominated by the current management, headed by 28-year-old Warren Hinckle III. U

"Edward M. Keating, the 42-year-old Atherton attorney who started the magazine five years ago and was ousted last week as its president, nominated four new directors to sit with him. Keating, who poured more than $800,000 into Ramparts, holds 42 per cent of the magazine's stock. U

"The new 13-member board, said Hinckle, will meet, probably later this week, to elect new officers. Names of the directors will be released then. U

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"Hinckle now holds the titles of vice president and 'acting chief executive' of the magazine. (U)

"Keating's $215,000 suit against Ramparts, filed last week has now been reduced to $129,000 Hinckle said. Keating said the suit was over a loan he said he made to Ramparts. (U)

"The conflict between Keating and Hinckle has no ideological base. It is, Hinckle said, a 'pure power struggle' over financing." (U)

The May 14, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle contained an article captioned, "Kansas Prof Ramparts' Plans In Angel's Hands", which read in its entirety as follows:

"Ramparts magazine is getting a University of Kansas professor of history as a senior editor in charge of long-range projects, and along with him a chunk of new money.

"This was reported from Lawrence, Kan., yesterday and confirmed here by Warren Hinckle III, 28 year old editor of the publication.

"The new senior editor will be Frederick Mitchell who is reported to have put from $200,000 to $350,000 into Ramparts. Hinckle admitted that Mitchell has money in it, but would not say how much.

"'Yes, he is joining our staff,' Hinckle said, 'as a senior editor who will be concerned with long-range projects, those that may take as long as five or six months to develop.

"'I talked to him last night by phone. The story about him back there was obtained in a campus interview by the student newspaper. It's correct.' (U)

"The interview quotes Michell as saying:

''It certainly could be said that I bought my way into the magazine. But they have tried to convince me -- and I have allowed myself to be convinced -- that the kind of understanding we have is outside any financial interest.'

"Ramparts recently made a national name for itself by revealing secret financing by the Central Intelligence Agency of student groups.

"Its founder is Edward M. Keating, wealthy Atherton attorney who put $800,000 into the venture and who was ousted last month as president and publisher.

"Tonight Ramparts' new 13 directors will meet to thrash out policy and control problems. Eight of them are said to be backed by the present management and five by Keating.

"Mitchell is in his mid-twenties and went to Kansas after graduate work at the University of California in Berkeley. In his interview he said his grandfather, who died in 1962, left him the money.

"He had a chance to go with Ramparts earlier, he said, and under his present agreement with the magazine, his investment in it is based on Keating relinquishing some of his control.

''Keating doesn't have the sense of a story in a modern way,' Mitchell declared. 'I hope the magazine will stay free of labels and resist being called "the new left".'

"'I want it to embrace those things in the so-called "conservative movement" as well as the radical world when it sees a higher moral purpose served by it.

"'I want it to be as ready to listen to Barry Goldwater as well as William Fulbright.'

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The New York Times of February 20, 1967, contained a special report datelined San Francisco, February 19, 1967, and captioned, 'Ramparts Gadfly to the Establishment' which read in part as follows.

> Mr. Hinckle, a pudgy six-footer with a flowing Edwardian mane of hair, is 28 years old and the editor of Ramparts, the splashy magazine that won front-page newspaper notice last week when it scooped itself.
>
> "It bought advertisements which soon became news, to tell what its March issue would say about the Central Intelligence Agency's undercover relationship with the National Student Association.
>
> "This was the latest in a series of publicity coups for Ramparts, which was founded in 1962 as a five-times-a-year journal aimed at liberal Catholic intellectuals.
>
> 'The magazine's conversion into a busy gadfly on the liberal-to-left side of politics began two years ago. Two business consultants (who have since become stockholders) recommended a change in direction. And Mr. Hinckle, whose first connection with Ramparts was as a public relations man was named editor.
>
> The consultants, Howard Gossage and Dr. Gerald M. Feigen, have a company here called Generalists, Inc. 'About a year and three quarters ago,' Dr. Feigen said the other day, 'they came to Howard and me to ask our advice. We told them that they should take an extra-environmental view.'
>
> Mr. Hinckle put it this way: 'We decided,' he said, 'that we couldn't find enough liberal Catholics who wanted to read us, so when we went monthly from five issues a year, we wanted to be a magazine of opinions, but printed on good paper, with color and gloss rather than on cheap paper that made it all look cheap.

"'We wanted to be kind of Catholic, kind of concerned about civil rights, kind of worried about lots of things.'

"Founder's Sway Reduced

"The rise of Mr. Hinckle appears to have coincided with a decline in the power of the magazine's founder, Edward M. Keating, a wealthy convert to Catholicism.

"Mr. Keating remains as publisher and as the largest stockholder. But the 100 per cent ownership that he held in the magazine's early years has been diffused.

"Mr. Hinckle owns something less than 10 per cent of the corporation, which he says he acquired as part of his compensation. The Gossage-Feigen combination has been paid in stock, although no one will say how much.

"And there are three stock blocks representing $350,000 in new capital. Of this, Frederick C. Mitchell, now an assistant history professor at the University of Kansas at Lawrence, put up $200,000 of money he had inherited, while he was a graduate student at Berkeley, Louis Honig, president of a San Francisco advertising agency, $100,000, and Irving Laucks, an 85-year-old millionaire who is on the staff of the Center for Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, $50,000.

"'Getting Rid of Wars'

"The information on stockholding came from sources close to the magazine's board. Ramparts management is willing to identify stockholders but not to disclose the size of their shareholdings.

"Neither Mr. Mitchell nor Mr. Honig would discuss their holdings, Mr. Laucks spoke freely.

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"'My specialty is getting rid of wars,' he said. He invested in Ramparts, he said, because it could be effective in helping me in my specialty. It reminds me of Everybody's Magazine. Now there was a muckraker--and it did a lot of good.'

"They are owners of a virtually bankrupt enterprise. Losses in the last year have been about $400,000 and, according to sources close to the magazine, Mr. Keating alone might have dropped as much as $750,000 in an effort to keep it afloat.

"According to Mr. Hinckle, Ramparts has lost about $1.2 million over-all. He said the annual budget runs about $1 million, of which about $250,000 goes for printing and at least as much for promotion and advertising."

The June 7, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Examiner contained an article captioned, "Sunday 'Ramparts' Suspends Publication" which read in its entirety as follows:

"Publication of 'The Sunday Ramparts,' newspaper was suspended today by its editor, Warren Hinckle III.

"The eight-month-old offshoot of Ramparts Magazine, published in San Francisco, issued its final edition today.

"'Sunday Ramparts began as an experiment and proved too successful,' Hinckle said.

"He said that in the eight-month period, circulation had reached over 20,000 but that it was losing money with every bi-weekly issue.

"'As of today, when this last issue comes out, we're suspending publication,' Hinckle said.

"Hinckle said that the newspaper never had a formal staff and that the magazine staff did the work for Sunday Ramparts. He said that the staff simply had too much to do getting out the magazine without the paper.

"Tentative plans are being made now, according to Hinckle to create a literary magazine or a daily newspaper sometime next year."

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B. Circulation and Distribution

An article in the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle, This World Section, page 16, concerning Ramparts reported that the circulation for this publication in March, 1967, was 228,730.

WARREN HINCKLE, Associate Editor, in an article on Ramparts which appeared in the April 3, 1967 issue of the National Observer, a weekly newspaper published in New York City, was quoted as saying that Ramparts had a circulation of a little over 200,000 which was double the circulation six months previously. He said that 130,000 of this figure were newsstand sales which was a fivefold increase within a year. They foresee a circulation of 400,000 to 500,000 within a year or so

[redacted] of Detroit, Michigan, a former Special Agent of the FBI, advised on December 22, 1966, that the address label on his subscription to Ramparts contained the identical mailing and subscription information, including the identical erroneous zip code number, under which he receives mail from the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, Suite 1103, 150 - Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

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At a meeting of the Sobell Committee in Room 1103, 150 - Fifth Avenue, New York City, on December 7, 1966, a discussion was held on the effectiveness of mailing lists used by the Committee. It was stated the Ramparts mailing list was one of the more profitable ones used in soliciting funds ~~(S)~~

~~(S)~~ SF T-1 [on 12/16/66] ~~(S)~~ (U)

A characterization of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell is contained in the appendix.

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LIBERTY CIRCULATION CORPORATION

A source advised that the Liberty Circulation Corp. is the sole distributor for approximately 14 magazines, periodicals and books, with the magazine Ramparts being the most notable. This Corporation has sales to approximately 200 accounts throughout the Eastern part of the United States, and employs four full-time employees, plus eight commission salesmen covering the areas of New York, Boston, New Haven, Bridgeport, Philadelphia, Washington and Baltimore. THEODORE COHEN, President of Liberty Circulation Corp., related that he expected additional branch offices to be opened during 1967 in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and Florida.

The Liberty Circulation Corp. is located at 32 Union Square, New York City, and pays $100 per month for rent and use of approximately 2,000 square feet. THEODORE M. COHEN is listed as Corporate President, Secretary and Treasurer, while ALAN PEZARO is reported as Vice President. The Corporation's Board of Directors is composed of LIONEL HEYMAN and other officers. The Corporation originated during 1965 as the T & G Distributing Company and its operation was directed by the same individuals who are currently responsible for the Liberty Circulation Corp. It incorporated under New York State law during August, 1966, with 200 shares of no par value common stock and $10,000 starting capital derived from personal savings of the officers.

SF T-2 on 3/16/67

[redacted]

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SF T-3 on 7/30/65 and (X)

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SF T-4 on 7/5/65 (U)

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[SF T-5, [10/9/63, 1/29/64] (

[redacted]

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[SF T-6, [4/4/66] (X)(U)

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(X)

[SF T-6, [1/31/66] (X)(U)

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C. Funds

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past on March 8, 1967, reported the following information:

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[redacted]

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SF T-7, 3/8/67

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The May 5, 1967 issue of Time magazine's press section contained an article which read in its entirety as follows: u

> "Fall of the Archangel u
>
> "Muckraking Ramparts magazine has uncovered dark plots all over the place -- in Dallas, in the CIA, in Michigan State University. Last week it discovered a plot in still another place -- Ramparts magazine. Early in the week three Ramparts employees were fired by Editor Warren Hinckle, who said darkly that they were 'plotting against the magazine and we couldn't allow that.' At week's end the conspiracy culminated in the removal by the board of directors of President and Publisher Edward Keating, who had started the magazine in the first place. u
>
> "Keating and Hinckle had been at loggerheads for a long time. There were no ideological differences: both are doctrinaire leftists with a passion for disparaging U. S. policies and institutions. The disagreements were largely over money and approach. Keating, the magazine's financial archangel, charged his opponents with 'fiscal irresponsibility' and an 'inability to practice budgetary controls.' Circulation of the last issue was 228,730, more than half newsstand, but the magazine is still losing money at the rate of $350,000 a year. Hinckle believes he can break even by raising another $250,000 -- and without Keating. u
>
> "The Case of the Hollow Heel. Keating ran out of ready cash two years ago and tried to raise more money from other sources. His efforts failed to impress his editors. As they tell it, he once made a trip to Chicago to see if Playboy's Hugh Hefner could help. It took some doing just to see Hefner. 'He was always sleeping or swimming in his pool,' recalls Managing Editor Robert Scheer. When Keating finally got to Hefner, he drew a blank. By contrast, Hinckle and

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Scheer succeeded in selling stock to assorted wealthy sympathizers like Frederick C. Mitchell, a University of Kansas history professor, who has put $300,000 into the magazine. U

"Hinckle also quarreled with Keating over story ideas. While Hinckle favored conventional exposes of the CIA and the Warren Commission Report, Keating proposed more offbeat investigations. He suggested sending an undercover man to Louisiana's Plaquemines Parish to poke around a rumored 'slave camp' for civil rights workers. Not only that charged a Ramparts man, he even wanted to equip the gumshoe with a hollow heel containing a compass -- so that he could find his way back again. U

"Keating let it be known that he has only begun to fight. Denouncing the board meeting that ousted him as 'illegal,' he called a stockholders' meeting for May 8 to present his case. He also demanded the return of a $215,000 loan that he claims he made to Ramparts, threatens to go to court for the cash. 'I put $860,000 into the magazine,' Keating said on television, 'and they threw me out like an old shoe. That's the history of Ramparts. When people are no longer financially important, out they go.'" U

The February 24, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Examiner contained an article captioned, "'In Debt But Not Red' -- Ramparts", which read in its entirety as follows:

"A Ramparts magazine spokesman said today that the controversy-provoking magazine is in the red -- but it's not Red.

"Jim Colaianni, assistant publisher of the San Francisco-based monthly publication, replied to some questions raised by writer Carl T. Rowan in a Washington report in today's Examiner.

"To the question 'What, if any, relationship does Ramparts have to the International Union of Students?' Colaianni replied:

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"'None whatever.'

'Investors

"To the question 'What is the full story of Ramparts' financial backing?' he said the sole investors are publisher Edward M. Keating, Frederick C. Mitchell, assistant history professor at the University of Kansas; Louis Honig, president of the San Francisco advertising agency of Honig-Cooper & Harrington, and Irving Laucks, of the Santa Barbara Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

"Colaianni said Ramparts has received no funds from Communist agencies, has no Communist ties and does not comtemplate accepting Communist money in the future...

"He conceded that the magazine has lost $1.2 million in the five years of its existence, and did not deny a recent New York Times report that the 1966 deficit was $400,000.

'Nor did he deny the Times statement that Keating himself has 'dropped' $750,000 to keep Ramparts afloat.

"'To Continue'

"However, Colaianni declared, Ramparts 'absolutely will continue to publish. . . we are not concerned with problems of survival.'

"He said the magazine's operating basis continues to improve, and the editors are confident it will pull out of its financial troubles.

"He declined to say what new sources of funds might be available for the future, beyond declaring that any such sources would not include the Communist Party."

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The records of the County Clerk, San Francisco, were checked on June 13 1967, and reflected under Docket #578431 that a suit was filed in Superior Court, San Francisco, on May 2, 1967, by EDWARD M. KEATING against Ramparts Magazine, Inc. U

KEATING's suit claimed that Ramparts was indebted to him for $215,028.33 for money lent. KEATING amended this complaint on May 8 1967, at which time he claimed that $134,822 was lent to Ramparts and that only $5,000 had been repaid. U

Ramparts Magazine, Inc. filed an answer to this complaint on May 26, 1967, in which it denied that money received from KEATING was a loan, but stated that the amounts received from him were gifts or contributions to the capital of the corporation with right to receive shares of stock. U

During the period July, 1966 through May, 1967, Ramparts received part of their operating funds from the following sources: U

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Date	Amount	Source
[redacted]		

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Date Amount Source

[redacted]

SF T-8 6/8-13/67

Source reported that [redacted]

[redacted]

SF T-7, 6/8/67

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[redacted] U

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[redacted] came to Connecticut from Newark, New Jersey, in 1947 where he had been [redacted] U

[redacted] U

SF T-9, 3/9/67

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[redacted] The check was payable to Ramparts and endorsed by them and deposited in the account of Ramparts [redacted] previously. Ramparts then drew three checks in the amount of [redacted]

A check was made by [redacted] to the MANKAUF Realty, apparently in New York City, for [redacted]

[redacted] had tried to obtain a loan from the bank for Ramparts and stated that [redacted], U

SF T-9, 6/15/67

The records of the Town Clerk, West Hartford, Connecticut, were checked June 5, 1967, for [redacted] and under the name of D.R. Realty a mortgage was obtained from the [redacted] attorneys filed a mortgage deed made to Ramparts for a [redacted] The original deal was made March 31, 1967. U

[redacted] made payment of [redacted] to Ramparts magazine on [redacted] U

SF T-10, 12/12/66

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VICTOR RABINOWITZ, attorney, was listed along with LEONARD B. BOUDIN, attorney, at 25 Broad Street, New York, New York, in the 1962 Manhattan Telephone Directory as subscribers to DI 4-5564. (U)

> LEONARD B. BOUDIN during the early 1940's was a concealed member of the CP and actively associated with CP front organizations.

LOUIS BUDENZ on
6/21/50

VICTOR RABINOWITZ in 1961 was the only authorized signatory for the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, Inc. The Foundation receives funds from the L. M. Rabinowitz Company, Inc., and the following two bank accounts are affiliated with the Foundation: L. M. Rabinowitz Company, Inc., and the L. M. Rabinowitz Company, Inc. Profit Sharing Trust. VICTOR RABINOWITZ was the President of the L. M. Rabinowitz Company, Inc., and Trustee for the Profit Sharing Trust. (U)

SF T-11, 1/9/62

VICTOR PERLO, economist and columnist for The Worker and the People's World Communist Party newspapers on November 2, 1961, stated that he would like to prepare an economic survey of Puerto Rico and had contacted ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, CP functionary, to determine if funds were available for such a survey. TRACHTENBERG told PERLO that the RABINOWITZ family had a fund for such a purpose and that GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, had the key to it. TRACHTENBERG felt that if HALL was interested in the project, funds could be obtained. (X) [redacted] (X)(U)

[SF T-12, [11/2/61] (X)(U)

VICTOR PERLO was the recipient of a check for $600 dated November 7, 1961, and drawn on the account of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, Inc.

SF T-11, 1/9/62

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D. Advertising Support

The April 8, 1967 issue of Human Events contained an article by M. M. MORTON which read in part as follows:

> "Ramparts in the past year has run a full-page advertisement for the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, named by the U. S. attorney general as a Communist-front group; an advertisement promoting the Draft Program of the 18th National Convention of the Communist party and a full-page ad for the Progressive Labor party, the national Communist group which follows the current outpourings from Peking. U
>
> "In addition, for months the inside back cover has offered to sell a Scottish island, Inch Kenneth. The island belongs to Ramparts contributing editor Jessica Mitford, author of The American Way of Death, who is also known as Decca Treuhaft. Miss Mitford has been identified as a Communist party member by several witnesses testifying before congressional committees and in federal courts. U
>
> "Perhaps the best identification, however, was provided in the Sept. 19, 1946 issue of the People's Daily World, which reported that she was the county financial secretary of the Communist Party of San Francisco and a member of the Twin Peaks Club of the CP. U
>
> "In the interim Miss Mitford has belonged to more than a dozen officially cited Communist fronts, and as recently as January appeared in New York as a sponsor at a dinner honoring William L. Patterson, chairman of the National Negro Commission of the Communist party. She spoke and Gus Hall spoke. U
>
> "Miss Mitford and her husband, attorney Robert Treuhaft of Oakland, were lionized in a Ramparts article last year, which portrayed them as signs of 'progressive development' in the area. Treuhaft

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himself has been named as a long-time Communist party member on numerous occasions by witnesses testifying under oath and was also the object of indisputable identification in the People's Daily World of April 29, 1946, which said he was a member of the Haymarket Club of CP, a cell set aside for lawyers."

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E. General Activities

Speeches and Press Conferences

On March 3, 1966, STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, held a press conference at the Hotel Algonquin, 59 West 44th Street, New York City, New York. The conference was held by Mr. SHEINBAUM in conjunction with Ramparts magazine. Represented at the press conference was CBS Television News, Associated Press and four unidentified publications. Also present at the conference was a Special Agent of the FBI, using a suitable pretext. U

Mr. SHEINBAUM advised the following: U

He was in Saigon working for the Diem Government from 1954 until 1959 as part of a Michigan State University team to help set up a government. Since that time he followed the Vietnam situation very closely. In the fall of 1965, he became interested in United States policy concerning Cambodia, especially with regard to the Ho Chi Minh Trail issue and the Viet Cong's alleged use of Cambodia for sanctuary. In February, 1966, after receiving permission from the Cambodian Government, he travelled there with his wife and ROBERT SCHEER of Ramparts magazine. After arriving there, he made numerous reconnaissance trips to observe the alleged Ho Chi Minh Trail. These trips were made via plane, jeep and foot. At no time during these reconnaissance trips could he discern any trail going in a north and south direction which could possibly accommodate supplies. U

At points designated as the Ho Chi Minh Trail on maps appearing in the American press, there is underbrush and some foot paths, but the area would be completely impractical for a supply line. He also spoke to numerous Cambodians in the area of the alleged Ho Chi Minh Trail and all denied having observed any activity or supply movements. He personally interviewed the French speaking natives of the area, but used interpreters for others. He feels, as a result of his investigation, he can say there is no such thing as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. He further stated that Route 19 which runs East and West could definitely not be used as a supply line, since the terrain is such that a jeep could not get through and it is cut off from Cambodia by a blown up bridge. The bridge is approximately five miles short of Cambodia. U

Mr. SHEINBAUM was accompanied on his reconnaissance trips and his interviews by Cambodian civil governors or military commanders. He personally directed the reconnaissance, however, and was not denied access to any areas during his investigation. He also claims the Australian Ambassador accompanied him several times and he concurred with him in his findings. The Cambodian Government also held a four hour Cabinet meeting for him wherein they expressed their desire for neutrality. U

As a result of the aforementioned, Mr. SHEINBAUM feels that the Ho Chi Minh Trail issue has been manufactured by the United States Government to prepare the American people for a war with Cambodia. The United States has provided no actual evidence that there is actually such a trail and no formal charges have been made by the United States against Cambodia. There is no reason why the United States should be hostile toward Cambodia although he admits the Viet Cong have probably been using the Cambodia border for sanctuary. He claims the Cambodian Government does not condone this, but there is very little they can do since it is impossible to perfectly police the border. U

When asked by a member of the press exactly how supplies were reaching the Viet Cong, he stated that he felt most were coming by sea to the Mekong Delta area. U

Mr. SHEINBAUM stated that the Cambodian Government does not feel China is a threat to them, but they do fear Vietnam and Thailand. They make no distinction between North and South Vietnam and while they sympathize with the Viet Cong, they render them no aid. They claim that Thailand has been hostile toward them for years as they have been having border disputes for a long time. Cambodia claims that Thailand has been trying to claim eight Cambodian provinces when they were actually given three such provinces by the French; in so doing they have been committing constant acts of aggressio Referral/Consult

[redacted]

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Referral/Consult

[redacted]

Mr. SHEINBAUM also referred to a map of Vietnam appearing in a recent edition of Life Magazine. He stated that the Ho Chi Minh Trail as depicted on the map was completely erroneous. He spoke to the correspondent responsible for the map; the correspondent had not actually seen the terrain but based the map on photographs and other such information.

In view of his investigation and the fact that the United States has never offered any evidence that the trail actually exists, Mr. SHEINBAUM stated that the map was in complete error.

In attendance at the meeting were MARC STONE of Ramparts Magazine who introduced Mr. SHEINBAUM to members of the press, and DONALD DUNCAN, former Special Forces master sergeant, who has recently returned from Vietnam and made statements about American atrocities there.

On Thursday, March 3, 1966, a meeting sponsored by the magazine Ramparts was held at Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City. The meeting was scheduled for 8:15 p.m. and started very close to this time. The admission was $1.80 which included a three months subscription to the magazine Ramparts.

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There were quite a large number of people outside the hall before the meeting. Many groups were passing out throwaways. U

The program was printed on the ticket, but the ticket was collected as the application for the magazine was on the ticket. The program as printed on the ticket was: U

Chairman: I. F. STONE
M/Sgt. DONALD DUNCAN

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM, Economist, who is with the Center for Democratic Studies. U

JEAN LACOUTURE, who was with the French in Vietnam before the French lost control. U

Mr. SHEINBAUM was the first speaker. Mr. SHEINBAUM had gone to Cambodia on February 3, 1966, with ROBERT SCHEER. He was also in Saigon for three days. He said he went to Cambodia to check first hand on reports that Cambodia was being used as a staging area for the Viet Cong. He said he found that these reports were untrue. The major theme of his remarks was that we were not getting accurate reporting from the war in Vietnam. U

Miss LEVINSON read Mr. LACOUTURE's statement who could not be present. He reviewed the French role in their war with the Vietnamese and his beliefs on why they lost. The main reason is they did not have the people with them. U

The next speaker was Mr. I. F. STONE, a Washington correspondent. He said the war runs contrary to American principles because the people are fighting a war for what they feel is a better country, and that it was not true that if the Viet Cong won it would mean that it would have repercussions in other countries. What happens in other countries is not decided by what happens in Vietnam. U

The principal speaker of the evening was M/Sgt. DONALD DUNCAN. Sergeant DUNCAN fought in Vietnam as a member of the "Green Berets". U

His principal points were that the populace was not with the Vietnam forces and the U. S.; that the N.L.F. was the major military group we are fighting and that we would have to talk to the N.L.F. and these discussions would have to start with the idea of getting out; that we would have to align ourselves with the people and not governments.

He said protests were effective, but were not enough. He felt that voting was the most effective protest. He said that the people should back candidates who will be representative of their feelings on the subject of war. He ended his talk with the declaration that he loved his country, but that we would have to get out and get out now.

SF T-13, 3/7/66

The March 9, 1967 issue of The Daily Idahonian, Moscow, Idaho, contained an article captioned, "Publisher Scores Vietnam War, Urges U. S. To Leave", which stated in its entirety as follows:

> "A 'simple' solution to the Vietnam war was offered yesterday by 'Ramparts' magazine publisher Edward M. Keating.
>
> "Get out. Instead of unloading ships at Saigon, load them; stop the bombing; he said in three appearances and an interview on the University of Idaho campus.
>
> "He recognized the internal strife that might follow, but called the loss of life from continued war 'worse'.
>
> "In the course of offering solution to the war and commenting on American society, he issued strong indictments against subjects from Cardinal Spellman and Bobby Kennedy to the 'radical middle class.'
>
> "Keating took note of Drew Pearson's column of March 3, hinting a CIA Castro assassination plot backfire as basis for the assassination of President Kennedy. Of the New Orleans JFK investigation, he adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

"Branding the war illegal and immoral, Keating decried the loss of American life in Vietnam and destruction of the country.

"It was a civil war before we stepped in, the magazine publisher contended. There were no North Vietnam troops in South Vietnam until the United States intervened. We're violating the Geneva Accord of 1954, in fact, our own Constitution, with this executive war, he maintained.

"There is nothing to negotiate aside from the removal of our troops from Vietnam soil, he claimed. When you catch a thief in your house with $100 of yours, you don't negotiate how much of the money he will keep, only how he will get out.

"The same is true in Vietnam, Keating said. For this negotiation, we must recognize and deal with both the National Liberation Front and Hanoi.

"Concerning Vietnam war progress, he indicated a fear of further escalation. Keating observed 'corrections' of U. S. loss figures as indications that the American public is being prepared for step-up of the war, even North Vietnam invasion.

"Right now, he commented, we hold less land than the French did in 1954. Yet we have 500,000 men in Vietnam. North Vietnam has 50,000 men across the line, he said.

"They've made the Vietnam war into a 'holy war', he complained. Actually, our policy there is 'suicidal,' Keating said.

"Keating called Cardinal Spellman the most 'obscene' man he has observed. He's so powerful, he can establish his 'holy war' and 'put the Pope down.'

"Keating, a Roman Catholic, declined to castigate Protestants. Let them take care of their own, he commented with a smile.

'It is difficult to understand, he pointed out, how we can become so involved in a civil war in a little patch of Asia, when we apparently show no concern over Castro sitting 90 miles off of our shores.

"Keating, whose appearances included a dinner-discussion at the UI, a talk last night at Washington State University, a half-hour on KUID-TV, drew an overflow coffee -meet crowd at the Blue Room of the UI SUB. The session was moved to the larger Dipper in the basement of the SUB.

"Bobby Kennedy's appeal for a bombing halt in Vietnam was encouraging because it indicates political advantage believed in being anti-Vietnam war, Keating said. Bobby is ruthless in his ambition, the publisher observed, therefore there is hope in the fact he took this course.

"It is the 'radical middle class' who must be awakened, Keating said. They are secure in their home, family, income, jobs, pleasures, and will kill to keep them. If they are aroused, the war can be ended.

"Whether or not you agree with my opposition to the war, he told students, make your voices known.

"While skirting a call for civil disobedience, he observed that the Boston Tea Party was an act of 'beatniks' aroused over injustice. They even wore beatnik (Indian) costumes, he remarked.

"Placards, parades, vigils, demonstrations, even letters to Congressmen and Presidents all have their part in making known opposition to the war, he advised. Opinion, made visible, was the mainstream of his advice. If you do not know, he said, there is no better atmosphere than a university in which to investigate.

"On the CIA, Keating said the magazine had not solicited the story of its infiltration into the

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National Student Assn. In fact, when Mike Wood first told us of it, we were skiptical. But, the further we checked, the more truth we saw. That's how the story developed, he said.

"The CIA is a symbol of the encroachment on our private lives, Keating said. Both the CIA and FBI are contradictions in the framework of a free society, he maintained.

"The tragedy is that when we corrupt our youth, such as attempted by the CIA in the NSA case, we corrupt our future, Keating stressed.

"First we get a few youths to agree to do something patriotic for their country. Then we swear them to secrecy with signed oath that brings jail if violated. Then they go to work for the 'firm', unable to tell even their own parents about their activities. Is this the society we want in America, he asked.

"Keating called the Supreme Court the only protection still remaining against invasion of private life. While advocating open state efforts improving the lot of citizens, he castigated the 'radical middle' for accepting medicare so old folks can be moved out, and will no longer be burdens.

"Keating was critical in the increase of power, through budgeted money, of the executive branch. We can't even comprehend the billions involved, he warned.

"Ramparts started as a magazine for the Roman Catholic intellectual and independent, the publisher reported. Now, I believe we have become more of catholic with a small 'c'. In answer to a question, he impishly said the Roman Catholic Church is probably happy the magazine has 'evolved' to other fields instead of devoting most of its time to views of the church.

"During his UI appearance; he formally and informally acknowledged he was incorrectly informed the campus was all conservative. At one point, he observed there was a sprinkling of beards around the audience, and at another point, he addressed a young man with full head of hair in a dimly lit corner of the room as, 'Mam'.

"Keating is currently on a speaking tour preparing backing for a 15th of April Mobilization Committee meeting to end the Vietnam war."

> The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is an ad hoc committee representing many groups which planned massive demonstrations in New York and San Francisco on 4/15/67.

The February 10, 1967 issue of The Daily Cardinal, campus newspaper of the University of Wisconsin, reported that ROBERT SCHEER, Editor of Ramparts, spoke at the Social Science Building of the University of Wisconsin on Thursday, February 9, 1967. In an article by PETER ABBOTT, News Editor, captioned, "Scheer Hits 'Mythology' of U. S. Anti-Communism", he was reported to have said, "Anti-Communism is what holds American people together, not the Judaeo-Christian ethic." SCHEER was reported to have urged his listeners to "support the Viet Cong, or National Liberation Front. . .given the fact that thev are the only ones standing up to the American 'intrusian' over there". SCHEER was quoted as saying that it is not the North Vietnamese who have shown "bad faith" in efforts to negotiate, "but us". He said that they have already offered concessions "even though it is we who are bombing them". SCHEER said that Russian and Chinese foreign policies, before and after the death of STALIN, "have been essentially conservative and not aggressive".

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II. OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

The June, 1967 issue of Ramparts listed the following Directors and officers:

Board of Directors

D. de JERSEY GRUT
G. M. FEIGEN
DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN
JUNE OPPEN DEGNAN
ROBERT FRASER
CARLTON B. GOODLETT
HOWARD GOSSAGE
WARREN HINCKLE III
LOUIS HONIG
JOSEPH IPPOLITO

EDWARD M. KEATING
FREDERICK C. MITCHELL
MARTIN PERETZ
ELEANOR JACKSON PIEL
MARCUS RASKIN
RICHARD RUSSELL
ROBERT SCHEER
STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM
DUGALD STERMER
MARC STONE

Editor

WARREN HINCKLE III

Art Director

DUGALD STERMER

Managing Editor

ROBERT SCHEER

~~SECRET~~

Assistant Managing Editor

SOL STERN

Senior Editors

GENE MARINE and DAVID WELSH

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III. STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

A promotional mailing soliciting subscriptions to Ramparts received on October 17, 1966, described the magazine in part as follows:

> "Ramparts is the new, exciting monthly magazine that is doing something about it. And expresses its concern in a fiercely independent, refreshing fashion that has in turn alarmed, outraged and delighted readers across the country.
>
> "Ramparts probes, analyzes, dissects -- with often stunning candor -- those elements of society that tend to artificially separate men. Ghettos are ghettos, whether they be economic, social, political, cultural or religious. Ramparts is dedicated to breaking down those walls, and to building up the things that unite men -- literature, the arts, philosophy, the power of ideas that raise the mind and unfreeze the heart.
>
> "Ramparts takes no doctrinaire positions. It points out alternatives. It exposes hypocrisy. It dares to ask why."

[SF T-14, [10/17/66] (~~S~~)(U)

The February 19, 1967 issue of the New York World - Journal - Tribune contained an article captioned, "Ramparts Proud of Dissent, Even Among Its Executives, which stated in part as follows:

> "Ramparts is an independent, liberal magazine of dissent, Colaianni said. 'We called for U. S. withdrawal from Viet Nam when no one else did, condemned President Johnson for sending troops to the Dominican Republic, urged admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and believe President Kennedy's assassination was the result of a conspiracy,' he explained.
>
> "'We are anti-CIA. That's our policy', Colaianni continued during a telephone interview. 'How do you like the impact of that CIA story? Right up to the White House.'"

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The October 2, 1966 issue of The Sunday Ramparts contained the following under "Editorials", which read in its entirety as follows:

> "This Newspaper
>
> "This newspaper was written, edited and printed in two days and two nights last week after three editors of Ramparts magazine, over a late morning Irish Coffee at Enriço's Cafe, decided that it was highly ridiculous that the Bay Area did not have a newspaper of reasonable independence and calibre, and therefore they decided to produce only by the weekend.
>
> "The Sunday Ramparts is an example of what such a newspaper could be. If the citizens of the Bay Area wish it to continue, they should subscribe. A device for this purpose appears on page three.
>
> "If the editors do not view the response to this trial issue as large or enthusiastic enough, we will forget the whole idea. If the response is sufficient, we will make every attempt to put together a competent staff and continue to publish.
>
> "We do not embark on this project with any Hearstian visions of empire. We are already overworked at Ramparts, but, as we said, we think it is outrageous that the Bay Area does not have a newspaper honestly and effectively reporting the news and serving the liberal, radical and artistic interests of the community. The Sunday Ramparts is an attempt to do just that. At the very least, it shows what could and should be done".

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The New York Times of February 20 1967, contained a special report datelined San Francisco, February 19, 1967, and captioned, "Ramparts: Gadfly to the Establishment", which read in part as follows:

> "Mr. Hinckle sees the editorial product in these terms:
>
> "'We want to take a very critical look at all the major American institutions. This month it's the C.I.A. One of these days it will be the labor movement, which is moribund and lethargic. Then there's the literary establishment. We want to raise the facts to sharpen debate.'
>
> "He balked at accepting the designation of Ramparts as a voice of the 'New Left'. The term, he said, refers to an amorphous collection of people with no complete agreement on anything.
>
> "'We have no connection with university activists, for example,' he said. 'Our basic position is that in this country there is a lack of free and stimulating debate that is based on fact.'
>
> "In their magazine, the crusade against American involvement in Vietnam is carried on.
>
> "First Big Splash
>
> "Ramparts scored the first big publicity splash of the new editorial regime--a story that fell in impact somewhere between their Michigan State story of last April and their current revelations about the C.I.A.--when they printed a story last February by a former Special Forces sergeant who had served in Vietnam and who said that he had been taught methods of torture.
>
> "Last month the magazine, after saying that it would 'document' the killing or wounding of a million children in Vietnam, printed a series of pictures of terribly burned children who, it said, were the victims of napalm dropped by American airplanes.

"Subsequently a group was formed in New York to raise money to bring such children to the United States for treatment. Marc Stone is working for this group.

'One of the magazine's directors, Martin Peretz, an instructor in social studies at Harvard University, suggested how, in a sense, the unpopularity of the war could help explain some of the popularity of the magazine.

" The independent liberals are aghast at the drift of American politics,' he said. 'They look to Ramparts as a muckraker who will give them facts. The 'turn-on" for a guy like me was this war and the fact that nobody gave us much of the real opposition to it. You know, political power is forced to be responsive to the electorate but opinion power is irresponsible. Ramparts will fill that need left vacant by the old-line opinion magazines.'

"'Sometimes 'Smart Alecky'

'But Mr. Peretz, who describes himself as 'sort of an absentee intellectual for the rest of the board,' did not give the magazine 'entirely plus marks. Sometimes, he said, he found it 'smart alecky' and offensive 'in that San Francisco 'hippy" sort of way.'

"The San Franciscans who dominate its operation have big plans for their enterprise.

"'We're trying to build a media complex,' explained Dr. Feigen, one of the men who helped broaden Ramparts' thrust beyond its Catholic-oriented beginnings. 'We have a magazine and a weekly newspaper (Sunday Ramparts, with 15,000 paid circulation) and we want an advertising agency, a book publisher and we've got into a UHF television application.'"

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IV. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

A. Subversive Affiliations of Directors and Employees

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JUNE OPPEN DEGNAN ~~SECRET~~
Director

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[redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted], in [redacted] [redacted] U

In October, 1945, [redacted] stated that she was going to a dinner party at [redacted] near where she [redacted] used to live, and that the purpose of the dinner party was to [redacted] [redacted] (~~S~~) ~~(S-DUI)~~

SF T-15, [10/19/45] (~~S~~)(U)

[redacted] in 1943 and 1944 was in frequent contact with GREGORY KHEIFETS, who was identified by AMADEO SABATINI, former Soviet espionage agent, now deceased in September, 1948, as a Soviet espionage agent operating in the United States. (~~S~~)(U)

SF T-16, [1943-44] (~~S~~)(U)

On June 26, 1946, [redacted] admitted to Agents of the FBI that in the early part of 1943 he had attempted to solicit classified information from Dr. J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER regarding the U. S. atomic installation at the University of California for the benefit of the Soviet Union. U

[redacted] in 1943 was a member of the Professional Section of the San Francisco County CP and in 1944 was [redacted] Northside Club of the San Francisco County CP. U (~~S~~)(U)

SF T-17, [1943-44] (~~S~~)(U)

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GEORGE AUGUST OPPEN, JR., in 1952 was considered to be the "titular head" of the CP, USA group in Mexico. (~~C~~) (~~S~~) (~~S~~)(U)

[SF T-18, [1952] (~~S~~)(U)

On January 22, 1943, [redacted] telephonically contacted the FBI Office in San Francisco and stated that she was a [redacted] [redacted] stated that she wanted her dramatization to be a "blueprint of fascism as it has worked in the United States." [redacted] requested material from Bureau files concerning these organizations. U

[redacted]

[redacted] (~~C~~) (~~S~~) (~~S~~)(U)

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[SF T-19, [10/5/43] (~~S~~)(U)

[redacted]

[redacted] had applied for a position with the [redacted] [redacted] on February 5, 1944, at which time she specifically requested to be assigned to the [redacted] section. When her application was disapproved, [redacted] reappeared once with her attorney and again without her attorney requesting an appointment to any section at all, [redacted] or otherwise. According to [redacted] her request was never granted.

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The April 30, 1963 issue of the San Francisco Chronicle contained a news article captioned, "Bay Woman Robbed of $42,000", which story was datelined New York and reported the theft of $42,000 worth of jewelry from the fashionable apartment of JUNE OPPEN DEGNAN in New York City.

This article described JUNE OPPEN DEGNAN as a San Francisco art patron who was the publisher of the San Francisco Review, a literary quarterly. It was also reported that she proposed to build a tall apartment house the prior year atop Russian Hill on Vallejo Street, but neighbors' protests caused her to sell her property for about $600,000. New York detectives who investigated the theft said that they could find no indication that anyone forced their way into the DEGNAN apartment in the Hampshire House on Central Park South. U

The April 30, 1966 issue of the San Francisco Examiner contained a news story reporting the above-described $42,000 gem theft. This article described DEGNAN as a local member of the international set, and a 50-year-old divorcee who has been prominent both socially and in civic enterprises. It is stated that she was one of the leaders in the effort to create the San Francisco Film Festival and that she had a king-size quarrel with the San Francisco Planning Commission in an effort to build a proposed 19-story, $3,200,000 apartment building on the slopes of Russian Hill. U

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GERALD M. FEIGEN

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GERALD M. FEIGEN was listed as a member of the Board of Directors in the June, 1967 issue of Ramparts. (U)

During the course of another investigation concerning a relative of [redacted] (U)

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[redacted] (U)

He said that he did not want to indicate that [redacted] was disloyal to the United States in any way, but that he was continuously for the underdog, interested in unions and their activities for betterment of the working class, and interested in both senators and congressmen who were known liberals. (U)

He said that over the years he had discussed many world problems with [redacted] and in the past [redacted] had indicated that among other things he favored the Loyalists in Spain against FRANCO. He said that he believed that [redacted] was not for communism in any sense, but was against dictatorship. He advised that [redacted]

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is of Jewish descent and therefore, was also extremely anti-HITLER. [redacted] had also commented to him, [redacted] that he was against STALIN and communism because of the dictatorial system itself.

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[redacted]

[redacted] stated that to the best of his knowledge [redacted] has never expressed any anti-American or subversive thoughts, and never subscribed to any publications which were subversive in nature. He said that he had no reason whatsoever to question the loyalty of [redacted] to the United States in any way.

[redacted] name was maintained in the financial records of the Communist Party in San Francisco in 1946. Source could not advise if [redacted] had made any contributions to the Communist Party.

SF T-20, 10/9/46 (U)

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CARLTON BENJAMIN GOODLETT

"The Sun-Reporter" for March 12, 1966, set forth the following biographical data for CARLTON GOODLETT, who is the Publisher and Editor of that publication. This biographical data was set forth in connection with GOODLETT's candidacy for nomination as Democratic candidate for Governor of California in the June, 1966 primary election.

> "CARLTON B. GOODLET, Ph.D., M.D., born in Chipley, Florida, on June 23, 1914.
>
> "Education: Graduated from Howard Kennedy Grade School 1927 (Omaha); Central High School 1931 (Omaha); Howard University, Washington, D.C. (B.S. in 1935); University of California (Ph.D. in Psychology, 1938); Meharry Medical College (M.D. in 1944).
>
> "Editor and Publisher, 'San Francisco Sun-Reporter'
>
> "Director, National Newspaper Publishers Association
>
> "President, San Francisco Foundation to Study Our Schools
>
> "Director, Supreme Life Insurance Company of America, Chicago, Illinois
>
> "Member, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce
>
> "Member, San Francisco Press Club
>
> "Member, Board of Directors, San Francisco Bay Area Council, Boy Scouts of America
>
> "Former President and Executive Board Member, San Francisco NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)
>
> "Trustee, The Third Baptist Church, San Francisco, California
>
> "Director, San Francisco Town Club
>
> "Member, Society of Sigma XI
>
> "Member, American Society of African Culture

~~SECRET~~

"Member, National Committee on Africa

"Vice Chairman, North California Committee on Africa

"Participant, American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa

"Chairman, California Negro Leadership Conference

"Chairman of the Board, Beneficial Development Group, Inc.

"President, Reporter Broadcasting Company

"Director, Golden Gate Chapter of American Red Cross, San Francisco

"Organizer, Fillmore Democratic Club, San Francisco, 1945 (oldest neighborhood Democratic Club)"

The Bulletin of the World Council of Peace, an official publication of the World Council of Peace, in its May 1966 issue #4, announced that the World Council of Peace session would be held in Geneva, Switzerland, June 13-16, 1966, in the city's Municipal Congress Palace, Palace Chateaubriand. The Bulletin of the World Council of Peace for July 1966, #6, on page 3 sets forth that one of the speakers at the plenary session was Dr. C. GOODLETT of the USA who was one of the 49 speakers who spoke at the Geneva, Switzerland, session. U

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A confidential source abroad advised in July 1966 that [redacted] [redacted] ~~(S)~~ (S)

[SF T-21, [July, 1966] ~~(S)~~ (U)

See Appendix section for characterization of World Peace Council.

The "New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York City, in its November 15, 1966, issue under the title "Let Us Act Together to Bring Peace in Vietnam" published a full page advertisement. It charges the United States with disregarding the Geneva

Agreement of 1954 and calls for the cessation of American bombing in North Vietnam. Names of people from 73 countries joined in the advertisement accusing the United States of provoking a wider war in Vietnam and appealing for the withdrawal of American troops.

The "New York Times" set forth that the advertisement was prepared and placed by WALTER DIEHL of the International Institute for Peace located in Vienna, Austria. The paper in its article regarding the full page advertisement set forth that "Payment for the advertisement, which cost $6,000, was received from Dr. CARLTON B. GOODLETT, a physician, and publisher of 'The Sun-Reporter', a Negro weekly in San Francisco."

A meeting of the County Committee of the CP of Santa Clara County was held in San Jose, California, on March 29, 1966. [redacted] [redacted] U

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[SF T-22
4/1/66] (S) (U)

On January 15, 1947, [redacted] was discussed at a meeting of the Dewey Davis Branch of the Professional Section, San Francisco County CP. The discussion ended with the conclusion that even though [redacted] did not attend many meetings of the Branch, he would be continued on the rolls of the CP because of the amount of work he did on the outside. U

[SF T-23
1/24/47] (S) (U)

The September 3, 1966 issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" contained a news article which announced that Dr. CARLTON B. GOODLETT was being sued for divorce by his wife, WILLETTE HILL GOODLETT. The suit said the couple were married November 27, 1942 in Nashville, Tennessee and separated April 27, 1957. She listed community property in the neighborhood of $1 million and asked for an equitable division as well as $2,000 monthly alimony and $300 a month support of their 16 year old son, GARY. U

SF 157-459
EJO/cab

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GENE MARINE, SENIOR EDITOR

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GENE MARINE was one of the guest speakers at the 25th Anniversary celebration for the "Peoples World" in San Francisco on February 3, 1962.

SF T-24
2/5/62 (~~S~~)(U)

The "Peoples World" (PW) is the West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

GENE MARINE in October, 1964, was offered a position on the editorial staff of the "Peoples World" for a short term. MARINE expressed interest in working for the "Peoples World", but accepted another higher paying position before the PW employment was started. (~~S~~)(U)

SF T-25
10/22/64 (~~S~~)(U)

GENE MARINE attended a public meeting sponsored by the National Guardian in San Francisco on February 14, 1964. Approximately 750 people were present to hear FELIX GREENE speak on his travel to China. GENE MARINE gave the collection speech at this meeting.

SF T-26
2/20/64 (~~S~~)(U)

See Appendix for characterization of National Guardian.

GENE MARINE attended a meeting of the W. E. B. Du Bois Club in San Francisco on August 27, 1964.

SF T-26
9/3/64 (~~S~~)(U)

See Appendix for characterization of W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America.

GENE MARINE on December, 1966, was a subscriber to the PW.

SF T-27
12/19/66 (~~S~~)(U)

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[redacted]

[redacted] Payroll Department, UCB, made available to IC [redacted] [redacted] on June 5, 1967, information that [redacted] date of birth [redacted] Social Security Number [redacted] last residence [redacted] had been employed by the [redacted] [redacted] his next of kin was listed as [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] Registrar's Office, UCB, advised IC [redacted] on June 7, 1967, that

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Records of the [redacted] were checked by SE [redacted] May 24, 1967, and a satisfactory record was located for [redacted] and his wife, [redacted] who were then living at [redacted] At that time, they maintained a commercial (checking) account at the Wells Fargo Bank, 9800 San Pablo Avenue, El Cerrito, California. [redacted] was listed as [redacted] The records also reflect that a credit check was made for [redacted] in November, 1962, while they were living at [redacted] at which time he was listed as [redacted] and maintained both a commercial and savings account at [redacted] The record also showed a previous address at [redacted] He declined to state his income in 1961. He listed a previous bank reference at the [redacted] which was opened in September, 1951.

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SF 157-459
EJO:kah

ELEANOR JACKSON PIEL

ELEANOR JACKSON PIEL, listed as a member of the Board of Directors of Ramparts magazine, is also, along with her husband, GERARD PIEL, on the Board of Trustees of the Institute for Policy Studies. GERARD PIEL is also one of the founders and presidents of the magazine, Scientific American, and of Scientific American, Inc. The relationship between Ramparts magazine, the Institute for Policy Studies, the Scientific American and the Scientific American, Inc. is not known.

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[redacted] ~~S~~(~~S~~) (X1)(~~S~~)(U)

[redacted]

[redacted] ~~S~~(~~S~~) (X1)(~~S~~)(U)

ELEANOR JACKSON PIEL is a member of the law firm of MARSHALL PERLIN and ARTHUR KINOY, Attorneys for MORTON SOBELL, who is serving a prison sentence for conspiring with JULIUS ROSENBERG and others to provide U. S. national defense information to the Soviets. ELEANOR PIEL, as a member of this law firm, was connected with the effort to obtain information concerning SOBELL provided by Dr. JULIUS KLAUS FUCHS, the "atom spy" arrested by the British. This request reportedly was

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channelized through SIDNEY SILVERMAN, an MP who was the legal representative in England for the law firm of MARSHALL PERLIN and ARTHUR KINOY. An interview of FUCHS by MARSHALL PERLIN and ARTHUR KINOY was successfully conducted through these efforts. U

[redacted]

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GERARD PIEL was identified by the former Communist and Soviet espionage agent WHITTAKER CHAMBERS as a leader of a group of three or four Communist sympathizers with Time magazine who left Time to become editors of the Scientific American magazine. CHAMBERS identified LEON SVIRSKY, Managing Editor of Scientific American in 1951, as a member of a Communist cell at Time about 1940. U

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DONALD ROTHENBERG

DONALD ROTHENBERG was listed in "Ramparts" as Assistant to the Publisher from December, 1966 through April, 1967.

The "San Francisco Examiner", April 29, 1966, contained an article captioned, "Anti-War Leader Called Red - Backs Morse Talk Here", read as follows:

> "An organization recently formed to support liberal candidates opposed to the Government's Vietnam policy is being directed locally by a recent arrival from Cleveland who has been identified as a Communist long active in various Communist fronts.
>
> "He is Don Rothenberg, northern director of Californians for Liberal Representation.
>
> "The organization, with headquarters at 870 Market St., is sponsoring the speaking appearance here tonight of Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.).
>
> "ROTHENBERG, 44-year-old native of Brooklyn, was identified as a member of a Communist cell in Washington, D.C., by Mrs. Mary Stalcup Markward in testimony before the House Un-American Activities on June 11, 1951.
>
> "Mrs. Markward, who joined the Communist Party herself in 1943, said Rothenberg was sponsored for membership by Eleanor Driesen of the Spanish Aid Committee while he was attending George Washington University.
>
> "Subsequently he has been identified with a number of left wing and Communist causes in testimony before the HCUA, the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security and the Ohio Un-American Activities Committee.
>
> "AS HEAD OF the Young Progressives of America in Ohio, Rothenberg led the march on the home of Governor Frank J. Lausche protesting a delay in the processing of relief checks. The YPA has been cited by the Attorney General as a Communist front.

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SF 157-459
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"In testimony Sept. 14, 1954 before the HCUA, before which he repeatedly took the Fifth Amendment, Rothenberg was described as having been an active Communist even while serving with the military in Germany.

"He once served as director of community organization of the Communist controlled Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was youth director of the Ohio Wallace Committee and was secretary of the Ohio Progressive Party.

"Rothenberg also was active in the campaign to save the Rosenbergs, executed atom spies."

It was announced at a meeting of the Southside Section Council, Southern California District of the Communist Party (CP) on August 4, 1966, that the CP, United States of America (CPUSA) recommended that the Californians for Liberal Representation (CLR) Conference, to be held in Los Angeles, California on September 30th through October 1, 1966, be a major concentration for the CP with one person in each CP club assigned to be a liaison,and the leader in every club to be responsible for this concentration.

[SF T-29, [8/10/66] (X) (U)

DONALD ROTHENBERG was chairman of the first session of a meeting of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam at San Francisco on May 2, 1967. The second session of this meeting was chaired by ED KEATING. This meeting was held for the purpose of creating the organizational form of a steering committee for that organization. Souce advised that the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam was an Ad Hoc Organization composed of many groups,including communists to protest United States participation in the war in Vietnam by staging massive demonstrations in San Francisco and New York City on April 15, 1967.

[SF T-26, [5/10/67] (X) (U)

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ROBERT SCHEER

The April 8, 1967 issue of Human Events in an article captioned, "The Inside Story of Ramparts Magazine", described Managing Editor ROBERT SCHEER, age 30, as follows: u

> A former member of the pro-CASTRO Fair Play for Cuba Committee who ran for the Democratic nomination for U. S. Congress in Berkeley in 1966. This article reported that SCHEER hinged his entire campaign on getting out of the war in Vietnam and getting into the "War on Poverty". It stated that it was not publicized that SCHEER in his race for Congress had employed as a campaign coordinator CARL BLOICE, a 28-year-old CP member. BLOICE's CP membership was hardly a secret as for several years he had been a by-line staff writer for the People's World, the Communist weekly on the West Coast, and was also Publications Director for the Communist-controlled W.E.B. Du Bois Club. BLOICE, at the National Convention of the CP in New York City in 1966, was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA. u
>
> Human Events,
> 4/8/67
>
> An article captioned "Fair Play for Cuba" was signed by two individuals, one of whom was identified as "BOB SCHEER, Graduate Student, Econ. 1, member Fair Play Committee." u
>
> Daily Californian
> 12/12/61
>
> Daily Californian is a campus newspaper distributed at the University of California, Berkeley. u
>
> An article captioned "The 'Camp' Meeting at Cal" among other things identified ROBERT SCHEER as Research Director for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and stated SCHEER had visited Cuba in

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the summer of 1964 in defiance of a United States Department of State travel ban.

San Francisco Examiner, u
5/22/65

An article published February 23, 1966, states among other things that ROBERT SCHEER is an outspoken critic of the JOHNSON administration policies in Vietnam and was 'presently" touring South Vietnam and Cambodia, the latter country at the invitation of Premier SIHANOUK.

Berkeley Daily
Gazette, 2/23/66 u

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STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM, listed as a member of the Board of Directors in the June, 1967 issue of Ramparts, [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] D

[redacted]

[redacted] The Harold Chapman Brown Discussion Society" whose preamble stated that "this organization is composed of students of varying political views and philosophies, who, dealing in Marxism as a significant trend in these times and deserving of critical study, desire to make such a study possible by holding a series of discussions led by competent authorities. We propose to study Marxism and its application to different fields of learning. This organization will not have as its purpose political activity of any variety, it will limit itself solely to discussion and debate. U

SF T-30, 10/26/49 (u)

The May 20, 1965 issue of the Daily Californian, a student newspaper at the University of California, Berkeley, listed STANLEY SHEINBAUM as a speaker on Friday night's Vietnam Day schedule and described him as the designer of the Vietnam strategic hamlets. STANLEY SHEINBAUM was one of the speakers at a Vietnam Day Committee meeting on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley on May 21, 1965. SHEINBAUM denied credit for devising the strategic hamlets in South Vietnam and during his speech was critical of American foreign policy based on his five years experience in Vietnam for Michigan State University since 1960. U

Special Agent of FBI,
5/21/65

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SF 157-459
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On October 15, 1965, STANLEY SHEINBAUM was the first of the featured speakers at a meeting on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee's International Days of Protest. SHEINBAUM was introduced as being with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. During his speech he stated that foreign aid in Vietnam had failed and that 10 weeks previous a major change in U. S. Vietnam policy occurred. He stated that the United States is no longer trying to pacify the peasants or win them away from the Viet Cong, but instead are eliminating them by saturation bombing. (U)

Special Agent of FBI,
10/15/65

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[redacted] was born [redacted] [redacted] received derivative citizenship through the naturalization of his father, [redacted] on July 25, 1944 in the U. S. District Court, Southern District of New York. (U)

Records. U. S. Passport
Office, U. S. Department o
State, Washington, D.C.

[redacted] was a member of the Communist Party, (CP), USA. ~~(S)~~ (U)

SF T-31, [10/15/45] ~~(S)~~ (U)

(S)

[redacted]

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SF T-28, August, 1959 ~~(S)~~ (U)

House Report #378 of the Committee on Un-American activities described the 7th World Youth Festival as "Communist arranged".

[redacted] made payments totaling $150 to the United States Festival Committee which organization sponsored U. S. representatives to the 7th World Youth Festival at Helsinki, Finland. (U)

SF T-32, 6/3/59

On March 28, 1960, an article appeared in the Iowa Defender newspaper, Iowa City, Iowa, which reported that SOL STERN participated in a debate wherein he took the position for unilateral disarmament. Among his viewpoints were: the U. S. is as much responsible for the cold war as Russia; the U. S. should submit to Communism rather than destroy itself fighting for human freedom which we do not have, and also that the U. S. should disarm first as he "guessed" they (the Russians) would too.

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MARC STONE

MARC STONE was listed as a member of the Board of Directors in the June, 1967 issue of Ramparts.

The April 8, 1967 issue of Human Events in an article captioned The Inside Story of Ramparts Magazine" by M. M. MORTON, described MARC STONE as follows.

'Ramparts' New York public relations man is Marc Stone, the brother of leftist publisher I. F. Stone. It was just a year ago that a news release reported that Marc Stone was to handle publicity for the Walter and Miriam Schneir book. So, Ramparts' PR man is, in effect, the PR man for the Rosenberg-Sobell committees. Marc Stone once managed the New York office of Federated Press, cited as a Communist press service by both HCUA and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. The old Dies Committee found that Federated Press was financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, 'both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises' (a nice way of saying conduits).

'Last year Marc Stone traveled to Cambodia with six other Americans--one of them Ramparts' military editor, Donald Duncan--and after inspecting selected areas announced that the Viet Cong were not using Cambodia as a sanctuary, an expression identical to the press statements they had issued before leaving New York."

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DAVID P. WELSH

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DAVID P. WELSH, listed as "Senior Editor" in the May, 1967 issue of Ramparts, [redacted]

SF T-7, 6/8/67

On December 3, 1965, [redacted] Adjudication Branch, Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS), advised that according to her records the New York Passport Office was authorized by the Passport Office on December 1, 1965, to validate the passport of DAVID PRENTICE WELSH of Ramparts magazine for one round trip to Cuba with no time limit. There was no additional information available.

On December 15, 1965, [redacted] Passport Office, USDS, made available a file containing the following information:

On December 21, 1959, Passport Number [redacted] was issued to [redacted]

[redacted]

his permanent residence was at [redacted] His mailing address was furnished as [redacted]

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[redacted] was previously issued Passport Number [redacted] [redacted] His permanent residence address was furnished as [redacted] [redacted]

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The file contained a memorandum stating that [redacted] This authorization was for one round trip and no time limit was stated.

A source advised on December 2, 1965, that the [redacted] a visa for one month had been requested by [redacted] who was born in [redacted] [redacted] and employed [redacted] [redacted] His address was given as [redacted] It was stated that he intended to write reports on the conference of the Latin American and African countries to be held in Havana in January, 1966. ~~S~~(~~S~~)(~~S~~)(~~X~~)(U)

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SF T-33, [12/2/65] (~~S~~)(U)

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B. Foreign Contacts of Ramparts Staff

The San Francisco Examiner newspaper, issue of February 24, 1967, carried a page 1 news article headlined, "Ramparts Editor at Prague Meet" by CARL ROWAN. This article explained that "a few days ago a brief, cryptic report out of Prague, Czechoslovakia, was passed among a handful of top officials in Washington". The report said that an editor of Ramparts magazine had visited Prague and held "a long, secret session" with officers of the Communist controlled International Union of Students (IUS) (characterized in the appendix). u

The article continued by stating that Ramparts is the magazine that exposed the fact that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had been financing the National Student Association (NSA), which in turn had worked for several years to prevent IUS from dominating the youth of the world. The article questioned what relationship there was between Ramparts and the IUS. u

ROWAN telephoned ROBERT SCHEER, Managing Editor of Ramparts, in San Francisco and SCHEER admitted that he had met with representatives of the National Liberation Front, political arm of the Communist Viet Cong, in South Vietnam, and also with IUS officers in Prague "several weeks ago" for two days. In response to a question as to who controlled IUS, SCHEER replied, "It is essentially an organ of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union". SCHEER emphasized that he had visited IUS headquarters strictly for journalistic reasons and that he was in Europe writing a story for Ramparts on BERTRAND RUSSELL, (the 94-year-old British philosopher who plans a Vietnam 'war crimes trial' of President JOHNSON), so he continued on to Prague to check the international implications of the Ramparts article on the NSA. SCHEER volunteered, "We don't truck with Communism in Ramparts. We compare the U. S. position in Vietnam with the actions of the Soviet Union in Hungary. Both are intolerable and we make no bones about it. Any attempt to smear us at Ramparts is libelous and we'll sue. I warned the same thing when they were muttering about me being a Communist when I ran for Congress". u

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The March 12-26, 1967 issue of the Sunday Ramparts contained an article captioned, "Ex-USIA chief returns a favor -- hits Ramparts for old bosses', which read in its entirety as follows: u

"Washington columnist Carl Rowan, once the government's chief propagandist as head of the United States Information Agency, apparently still gets his cues from the Johnson Administration. Thus last week, in a column syndicated by the Hearst chain, Rowan came within less than an inch of libel in an attempt to smear Ramparts magazine with information that apparently came from government information sources. u

"Two weeks ago Rowan was among a baker's dozen of Washington journalists who had dinner with Vice President Hubert Humphrey. At that supper Humphrey castigated the reporters present for their detective work into the Central Intelligence Agency's connections with the National Student Association, a story that came to light in the current issue of Ramparts Magazine. u

"'What about Ramparts?' Humphrey suggested. Why hadn't anyone looked into Ramparts magazine for a little dirt, where does Ramparts' money come from, asked the Vice President. Then he dropped the 'hint' of a 'super-secret' trip to Prague, Czechoslovakia, by Ramparts' Managing Editor Robert Scheer. u

"(Scheer, in London to interview Bertrand Russell, did indeed go to Prague to interview representatives of Vietnam's National Liberation Front. After visiting Leiden, Holland, to interview leaders of the International Student Conference in connection with the CIA-NSA story, he also spoke to members of the International Union of Students, ISC's pro-Communist counterpart headquartered in Prague, to develop any further information for the forthcoming CIA expose.) u

"Rowan, whose former employer, the USIA, maintains close contact with the CIA for its propaganda work, took Humphrey at his word. Rowan called Scheer for an explanation. Scheer told him of his European travels and their purposes. u

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"A few days later Rowan's column appeared. He called the trip 'Scheer's mission to Prague,' implying that the 'top officials' of Washington were all agog. Rowan further suggested, without daring to make an accusation that would have stood up in court, that Ramparts' $1.5 million operating deficit was being paid for by . . . well, 'Mr. Scheer may have more to say about his mission to Prague.' U

'Rowan's questions about Ramparts' financing could easily have been answered if he read the New York Times where an earlier story detailed the names and amounts of Ramparts' backers. No one in the least suspicious was named, not even a single foundation. U

"Correspondents in Washington report that Rowan probably needed a lawyer's help to write his column, a piece which was so dangerously close to libel that newspapers which pick up the column hesitated to carry it. There is also some evidence to suggest that he re-wrote the piece at the last minute to prevent a possible libel suit. U

"However, a possible libel suit may just be what will happen, accordin to Ramparts' editors. Their lawyers are currently investigating the matter." U

A source which has furnished reliable information in the past advised ROBERT SCHEER, Managing Editor of Ramparts magazine, visited Prague, Czechoslovakia, about two weeks prior to the advance release of Ramparts' story on CIA support to the United States National Students Association (USNSA). A story on Vietnam, datelined Prague February 4, 1967, by ROBERT SCHEER, appears in a bi-weekly edition of The Sunday Ramparts, dated February 12-26, 1967. U

[redacted]

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[redacted]

Prior to his departure for his European trip, [redacted] told a source on January 16 that he was leaving on January 17 for England to interview BERTRAND RUSSELL regarding the War Crimes Tribunal, and would also travel to Prague to interview a National Liberation Front (Vietnam) representative. During the conversation, [redacted] questioned source about the National Student Association and added that he had heard that the International Union of Students (Prague) was an "inactive" Commie front and that the International Conference (Holland) was simply a "counter front".

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According to CARL ROWAN's column in the Washington Star of February 24, SCHEER admitted that he had visited the IUS in Prague in early February. He told ROWAN that he had gone to Prague "to check the international implications of our article on the NSA." According to ROWAN, SCHEER hedged when asked who controls the IUS, but finally said, "It is essentially an organ of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union." (u)

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In Holland on January 27, SCHEER met with ISC leaders and questioned them about finances. He said he was checking out facts for another author who was doing his subsequent travels in Europe except for one unconfirmed report that he was in Stockholm or intended to be there on or about February 6, 1967.

On February 3 source learned that a source who had just returned from Prague reported that a 'white man with American accent" arrived at the IUS on Monday, January 30, and was still there when source departed on February 2. Source assumed he was the cultural type, since he was taken under the wing of Wlodomierz Konarski, who has cultural responsibilities. Many special meetings took place with this man. One whole day was devoted to typing materials for the visitor. The visit was unusual especially for its atmosphere of excited activity. The man seemed to the source familiar with the building, etc., as if he had been there before.

A Prague broadcast in English at 1748 GMT on March 1, 1967, attributed to the Czechoslovak Press Bureau, stated that the Secretariat of the International Union of Students denied U. S. 'rumors' about the alleged cooperation between IUS and the American magazine Ramparts on uncovering facts about the financing of student organizations by the CIA. The broadcast added that ROBERT SCHEER, managing editor of Ramparts, had visited the IUS secretariat in Prague during a European tour and asked them to arrange a meeting for him with the National Liberation Front (Vietnam) representative located in Prague; that there was no mention of recent revelations concerning CIA and student organizations, and that as far as the secretariat had been informed, SCHEER's trip was "of a purely journalistic character." ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~ b1

[redacted]

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~~(S)~~ SF T-34, 3/9/67 ~~(S)~~ (U)

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[redacted]

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(SF T-35, 2/1/67) (X) (U)

Ramparts Explanation of How Expose on CIA Originated

The April 3, 1967 issue of The National Observer, a weekly newspaper of national distribution published in New York City, in an article captioned, "A New Magazine Rakes the Muck, Finds Pay Dirt -- Ramparts' Editors Uncloak The CIA, Blast Johnson, and Gather Subscribers", reported that in interview with SOL STERN, Assistant Managing Editor of Ramparts, it was explained how the magazine's CIA expose originated. The National Observer article is quoted in part as follows: (U)

> "Ramparts got the story from a disillusioned NSA officer named Michael Wood, who had known nothing of the CIA involvement until taken into the confidence of the NSA president. (U)

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'It was a Team Effort

'The story was a team effort, with several staff members working on it and students that they knew helping with the research on the foundations involved in New York City, Boston, Washington, and Dallas. 'I thought at any time the whole thing would fall apart,' Sol Stern, who wrote the final story, said last week. 'We were going primarily on the tip of one guy and he might turn out to be unreliable. We were expecting complete denials and a great hassle over its credibility. So Warren told me to write it low key, to build up the facts slowly and steadily to give it all the credibility we could. It's really kind of dull, moves very slowly, but, given the kind of story it is, I think that's right.'

'Mr. Stern, a tall, quiet New Yorker of 31, leaned back in his chair and smiled slightly at the memory. 'But you know there were no denials at all. When I finally talked to the NSA people they just looked kind of funny and said, "Oh, that story, you don't want to do that. Too many people will get hurt". Then was when I knew we had it.'

"The way the NSA story broke was something of a journalistic first and demonstrated again the magazine's tendency to unorthodoxy. The story was announced in full-page ads in the New York Times and the Washington Post a couple of weeks before the magazine came out, probably the first time in American journalistic history that a scoop was broken in advertisements in other publications. By the time many subscribers got the magazine the full story plus all the secondary revelations that were dug up by various newspapers had been told and retold, examined and analyzed from almost every point of view.

''Well, look, we had to move ' Mr. Hinckle said last week, 'It was starting to leak out. Some of the big Eastern papers were getting onto it and NSA was starting to panic. I was afraid we were going to get our own story shot out from under us'."

National Observer,
4/3/67

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C. Contents of Publication

The June, 1966 issue of Ramparts contained an expose article captioned, "Bishop Sheen and the Great Charity Hoax". In response to this article LESTER KINSOLVING, Religion Editor of the San Francisco Chronicle, wrote an article in the October 22, 1966 issue of that newspaper captioned, "Ramparts Magazine and Bishop Sheen", which read as follows:

> "One of the most serious charges ever leveled at a Roman Catholic bishop in America was made last June by the magazine, Ramparts.
>
> "Edited in San Francisco, it has, on a wide variety of subjects, become a prominent thorn in the flesh of the church hierarchy, mainly because it is impervious to the charge of being anti-Catholic. Its publisher is a devout if rebellious Catholic layman named Edward Keating, who was a recent candidate for Congress from San Mateo County.
>
> "Having previously denounced what it believed was Francis Cardinal Spellman's considerable responsibility for United States intervention in Vietnam, Ramparts next drew a bead on the most renowned Catholic clergyman in the U. S. -- Bishop Fulton J. Sheen.
>
> "In an article entitled 'Bishop Sheen and The Great Charity Hoax,' Ramparts religious editor and associate publisher, James F. Colaianni, a Catholic attorney, recorded a number of devastating accusations made by one Don Waite, a Catholic layman who recently visited various African missions which are supported by Sheen's Society for the Propagation of The Faith.
>
> "Included among these accusations was Waite's report that 32 African bishops had affirmed that money given to the society seldom if ever arrived where needed and that there was a disparity between the society's propaganda and its performance.

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"The Most Rev. Joseph Kiwanuka, Archbishop of Rubaga in Uganda, was quoted by Waite as saying that the Society 'has deliberately frustrated our efforts'. Bishop Maurice Otunga, of the Diocese of Kisii in Kenya, was quoted as saying 'Rome doesn't send enough money to this diocese in a year to buy gasoline for my car.'

"In the interest of examining claims of both accused and accuser, visits were made to the Ramparts' office on Broadway in San Francisco as well as to the national headquarters of the society at 366 Fifth Ave., in New York.

"James A. Cousins, the Society's C.P.A., provided the following information: (1) Archbishop Kiwanuka died five months prior to the article's publication and was hospitalized for six months so that 'he couldn't have seen Waite' (2) A photostatic copy of a four-page letter in which Bishop Otunga thoroughly repudiates Waite, (3) A written record of Society expenditures of $10,397,468 in Africa during 1965, together with citations of canceled checks, annual audit and biennial inspection by the Insurance Department of the State of New York.

"Ramparts writer Colaianni responded to such information by contending that he has a tape recording of Kiwaunka's charges. He also suggested that Otunga's letter was written under Vatican pressure. He did not explain why he felt the Vatican would be inclined to pressure a native bishop in embattled Africa -- particularly one who was supposed to be outraged by fraud. Neither did he explain why, if Otunga has now yielded to pressure, the bishop would ever have made such statements in the first place.

"Last July, in New York, Cousins indicated his intention of following the suggestion of Ave Maria magazine and suing Ramparts. By late September, he seemed content to supply the press with copies of Otunga's letter and to keep Bishop Sheen out of court.

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"If the magnetic Sheen were ever to take the witness stand, his effect upon a jury might be explosive. An example of the kind of charm he can manifest while utilizing two of the most hypnotic eyes in Christendom was provided in his brief appearance following my discussion with Cousins in New York.

"In response to my mumbled reference to Pope John's statement that if St. Paul were alive today he would be a Christian journalist, Sheen replied immediately 'No -- he would be a rewrite man!'

"Then: 'San Francisco! -- one of my two favorite cities. There is more grace per square foot in San Francisco than any place on earth!'"

On December 23, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information concerning a press conference held by Ramparts magazine at the World Church Center, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York City, on December 22, 1966.

Source stated that the purpose of the press conference was to publicize an article by WILLIAM F. PEPPER, entitled, "The Children of Vietnam." This article appears in the January, 1967 issue of Ramparts. Source stated that the conference had been announced by MARC STONE, New York representative of Ramparts, in a letter to various press associations.

Source stated that the conference was attended by some 40 correspondents, including representatives of the ABC Television Network. MARC STONE, WARREN HINCKLE III, Editor of Ramparts, Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK, a medical doctor famed for his books on child care, and WILLIAM PEPPER, author of the article, were present on behalf of Ramparts.

The stated purpose of the conference was to make public an appeal by Ramparts magazine to the United Nations

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Children's Fund to investigate conditions surrounding the wounding and killing of children in Vietnam as an outgrowth of the Vietnamese war. A copy of a letter from WARREN HINCKLE III, Editor of Ramparts, to Mr. HENRY LABOUISSE, Director, United Nations Children's Fund, was distributed to the press. In this letter HINCKLE drew the attention of LABOUISSE to the article and suggested that the condition of the wounded children in Vietnam be investigated by the United Nations Children's Fund.

Source stated that PEPPER, who gave his age as 29, addressed the group. He described himself as a humanitarian and stated that he had travelled to Vietnam as a free-lance journalist. He said that he had returned to the United States in May, 1966. He remarked that he had become acquainted with Ramparts sometime after the trip when he finally decided to publish his impressions and findings. He added that he is studying for his Ph.D in Political Science at the "New School" (probably the New School for Social Research in New York City).

Source said that PEPPER did not express any extreme comments about the Vietnamese war per se, but that he confined his remarks to the scope of his article about the children of Vietnam.

Source added that PEPPER seemed annoyed when he was asked by an Associated Press (AP) correspondent how he had gotten to Vietnam, whether he was a regular correspondent for Ramparts and why he had chosen Ramparts to publish his article. Source stated that his answers to these inquiries started out as vague remarks about "free-lancing" and "a desire to see things for himself." Source stated that he seemed vexed and dropped the subject of his relationship with Ramparts magazine upon receiving a note which MARC STONE had hastily written and passed to him.

Source stated that he got the impression that STONE and HINCKLE, who was silent throughout the conference, were rather tense about what PEPPER might say concerning Ramparts.

Source stated that PEPPER was again challenged by an AP correspondent when he stated that most of the statistics used by him in the article were obtained from HUGH CAMPBELL, whom he described as a Canadian who had worked with the International

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Armistice Commission. According to source, the AP correspondent stated that he had phoned CAMPBELL that morning and had been told that he had never given or obtained any such statistics (about deaths and injuries in Vietnam). PEPPER's reply to this was that "CAMPBELL was backing out."

Source said that PEPPER was saved from further embarrassment by a foreign correspondent who stated that it was futile to discuss the exact number of children in Vietnam. Source stated that PEPPER seemed grateful for this statement and used the opportunity to launch into a humanitarian speech.

Source said that Dr. SPOCK, who had written the introduction to PEPPER's article in Ramparts, made a short statement of accusation against 'the crocodile tears of the State Department" and the war in Vietnam "that is morally wrong'. Source stated that the conference ended with MARC STONE distributing pictures of injured Vietnamese children to whomever wanted them.

Source stated that printed material was distributed to the press at the conference. This material included:

1 - A reprint of the Ramparts article entitled 'The Children of Vietnam".

2 - A press release bearing the name Ramparts and marked for release 11:00 a.m., Thursday, December 22, 1966, with the headline 'Study Shows 250,000 South Vietnamese Children Killed in War, Thousands More Dying Without Treatment - United Nations Children's Fund Asked to Investigate." This release stated in part that Ramparts appealed to the United Nations Children's Fund to investigate Mr. PEPPER's charges about the effect of American bombing and revealed that a group of prominent American doctors and other concerned citizens are organizing to transport napalm-burned Vietnamese children to the United States and care for them in United States medical facilities. The release described PEPPER as a political scientist, Executive Director of the New Rochelle, New York Commission on Human Rights, and a faculty member of Mercy College, Dobbs Ferry, New York.

3 - A document entitled "Resolution on the Vietnam War." This resolution, according to its contents, was adopted

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unanimously by the Advisory Committee of the Christian Peace Conference (ACCPC) in Sofia, Bulgaria, October, 1966.

4 - A letter to Christians in the United States and its allies from the ACCPC.

5 - A message from the Secretary General (of the UN) to Lord BROCKWAY, Chairman, British Council for Peace in Vietnam, dated November 11, 1966.

6 - A paper entitled "Resolutions on China by Churches." This document contains quotations from resolutions and statements by various church groups which advocate the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

7 - A copy of the remarks made by WILLIAM F. PEPPER to the press during the conference.

SF T-36, 12/23/66

The May 26 1967 issue of Time Magazine, in the Medicine section, contained an article captioned, "Casualties -- Children of Viet Nam", which read as follows:

> "'The purpose of the mission was to find war-injured children suitable for medical treatment in the U. S.' How many such children were found by the three-doctor mission sent to Viet Nam by the Committee of Responsibility to Save War-Burned and War-Injured Vietnamese Children? Thirteen, for now. Eventually, reported one of the doctors last week, the program would probably transport from five to ten children a month to the U. S. for plastic surgery or prosthetic-device fitting too complex to be carried out in the western Pacific.
>
> "What of the Ramparts report of a million child war victims that provoked the formation of the Committee of Responsibility in the first place? The three doctors --

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Internist Henry Mayer of Redwood City, Calif., Plastic Surgeon John Constable of Boston, and Pediatrician Theodore Tapper of Philadelphia -- struggled to establish reliable casualty estimates. They visited 37 of the Viet Nam government's provincial hospitals in three weeks, but in the end could do no better than accept the Vietnamese Ministry of Health's report that casualties are now being admitted to its hospitals at the rate of 50,000 a year. Among them: 10,000 children. The doctors noted that according to some estimates, only one-third of civilian casualties ever reach a hospital. That would mean 30,000 child casualties a year at current rates, and perhaps 150,000 since the war began.

"Speeding Aid. As for the claim that Vietnamese hospitals are crowded with burn victims in need of plastic surgery in the U. S., the committee tended to agree with Dr. Howard A. Rusk, the U. S.'s best-known rehabilitation expert, that such is not the case. Among the hundreds of casualties the doctors saw, only 38 were suffering from 'war burns' (both phosphorus and napalm), and 13 of these were children. They found no patients with third-degree burns covering more than 20% of the body surface. This, they concluded, jibed with the opinion of U. S. military experts that the most severely burned victims of napalm and phosphorus die, sometimes of suffocation, without reaching a hospital. The C.O.R. doctors discounted Rusk's theory that many civilian 'napalm burn' cases were actually injured trying to cook with gasoline several victims they saw described the bomb that hurt them as a 'gasoline bomb.'

"The C.O.R. doctors noted, as has every U. S. visitor to Viet Nam, that civilian hospitals there are piteously inadequate, understaffed, and lack essential supplies. U. S. military and civilian authorities are now speeding aid to the Saigon government to enlarge and improve the hospitals and build several new ones. And since a major difficulty for civilians is getting to a hospital in time for

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W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacher Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

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WORLD PEACE COUNCIL, aka
World Council of Peace

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Page 179, contains the following citation regarding the World Peace Council, aka World Council of Peace:

Cited as having been formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and which was heralded by the Moscow radio as "the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 378 on the Communist Peace Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 38.)

APPENDIX

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COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon Morton Sobell,' the Rosenbergs' codefendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a Communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg - Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'..."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON SOBELL" appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In March, 1955, the current name "Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON SOBELL," first appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company on April 14, 1966, lists the "Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON SOBELL" (CSJMS) as being located at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

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APPENDIX

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"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on Page 193 concerning "National Guardian:"

1. "established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly***. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

> (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

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INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

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1. "The World Federation of Democratic Youth brought into being the International Union of Students, which held a meeting in Prague on August 17-31, 1946. The administration and direction of this project was entrusted to a 17-man executive committee, of whom 12 were known Communists." Also cited as one of the "long-established Soviet-controlled international organizations" which speak identical lines of propaganda and stand together on all phases of Soviet foreign policy and which has "affiliated organizations in the United States, which consequently have also been turned into instruments in the 'peace' campaign."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 271 on American Youth for Democracy, April 17, 1947, p. 13, and House Report 378 on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 77)

2. Cited as being among "international Communist fronts * * functioning at the present time."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 93, also p. 59.)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 16, 1967

~~SECRET~~ ~~SECRET~~

Title RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Reference Report of SA [redacted] b6 b7C
dated and captioned as above
at San Francisco.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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ON 02-09-2011

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b7C

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-65)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

REPORTING OFFICE NEW HAVEN	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 6-16-67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/28-6/15/67
TITLE OF CASE RAMPARTS		REPORT MADE BY SA [redacted]	TYPED BY jml
		CHARACTER OF CASE REGISTRATION ACT	

b6
b7C

REFERENCES: San Francisco airtel, 5-29-67;
New Haven letter, 6-9-67

- R U C -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified ~~SECRET~~ because it contains information from [redacted] which furnishes information of a highly sensitive nature about racial matters in the United States and the Communist infiltration thereof; and because the characterization of LEVISON contains a concentration of information from NY 694*. ~~S~~

b3
b7E

(U)

The information furnished by the Bureau by Bureau letter of 3-13-67 captioned Cominfil of SCLC regarding $5000 contributed by [redacted] to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was not reported for the source is not known to New Haven.

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b7C

7/18/80
CLASS. SP1 HSK/lkc
REASON-FC... 2
DATE OF REVIEW 6/16/87

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

4 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
3 - New Haven (97-159) [redacted]S
(1-100-18[redacted]
(1-100-19[redacted]

100-445393-54

REC 5

JUN 21 1967

Dissemination Record of A[redacted]

Agency	ACSI OSI ONI	[redacted]	State, Sec Ser	
R[redacted]cd.	[redacted]	RAO(ISD)		
Date Fwd.	7-3-67			
How Fwd.	R/S			
By	RJW: RAK			

Notations

~~SECRET~~

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55 JUL 9 1967

NH 97-159

There is investigation outstanding in this matter under the caption SCLC and [redacted] aka [redacted]

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There are additional leads being set out in the above cases and if any information is received which would be of value to instant case, it will be reported.

INFORMANTS

(U)

~~S~~

(U)

~~S~~

Identity	Location
NH T-1 is [redacted]	100-18339-89
NH T-2 is NY 694-S*	100-18339-89
NH T-3 is [redacted]	100-18339-94
NH T-4 is [redacted] [redacted]	100-18339-91
NH T-5 is [redacted] [redacted]	97-159

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The records of the Secretary of State, Boston, were reviewed by IC [redacted] 4-28-67.

B*
COVER PAGE

SECR.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-09-2011

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: June 16, 1967

Office: NEW HAVEN

b6
b7C

Field Office File #: 97-159

Bureau File #:

Title:

RAMPARTS

Character: REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis: [redacted] was born [redacted] [redacted] He started business in [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] He has also been in touch with a member of the Communist Party on this same type of discussion. He is known to have been a member [redacted]

- C -

~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~

DETAILS: **BIRTH**

[redacted] Connecticut State

~~CLASS. SPl MSH/jac~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1.2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 6/16/87~~

~~SECRET~~

~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Bureau of Vital Statistics, 79 Elm Street, Hartford, Connecticut, advised April 19, 1967, that her records reflect that one [redacted] was born on [redacted] [redacted]

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b7C

EDUCATION

[redacted] [redacted] advised June 12, 1967, that [redacted] graduated from [redacted] but he did not know under what name [redacted] graduated.

CHANGE OF NAME

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS), Washington, D.C., which were reviewed by a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on June 6, 1967, contained the following information:

> [redacted] exhibited a birth certificate in the name of [redacted] and a court order dated [redacted] showing change of name to that above. He gave his permanent residence as [redacted] [redacted] He stated that he was married [redacted]

EMPLOYMENT

Records of the Hartford Credit Rating Bureau, 55 Allyn Street, Hartford, Connecticut, were reviewed November 21, 1966, by [redacted] and reflected that [redacted] has been known to the files of this Bureau since 1948. He is reported to have an income of [redacted] and [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

The file reflects that [redacted]

[redacted]

The file further reflected that [redacted] came to

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] States Office, Incorporated Division, Hartford, Connecticut, advised June 6, 1967, that her file reflects that [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

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b7D

[redacted]

[redacted]

advised June 12, 1967, that it is his understanding on good authority, that when [redacted]

BUSINESS DEALINGS

NH T-1 advised November 12, 1966, that STANLEY LEVISON, and [redacted] were in conference on that date and they discussed a time when the two could discuss in greater detail [redacted] Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

NH T-1 stated on October 29, 1966, that at that [redacted]

(U)

NH T-2 advised in April,,1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, (CP, USA) in July 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he critized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON is described by certain CP leaders as

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being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His difficulties with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism. ~~S~~ (U)

NH T-3 advised October 30, 1958, that [redacted] ~~S~~ (U)

b6
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The "Hartford Times," a daily evening newspaper published in Hartford, Connecticut, in its issue of January 31, 1961, reflected that one RICHARD A. RUSSELL was elected treasurer of the newly formed Central Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in Connecticut.

The article reflected that the group is devoted to the "cessation of all nuclear weapons testing with adequate inspection and to general multilateral disarmament." (U)

NH T-4 advised August 24, 1965, ~~S~~ that [redacted]

[redacted] Hartford Police Department, advised August 18, 1965, that NECAP is a militant civil rights group in Hartford, Connecticut, composed of Negroes and whites.

On April 28, 1967, records of the Division of Corporations, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, were reviewed and reflect

~~SEC~~

~~SECRET~~

that Dick Russell Pontiac, Incorporated, was incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts as an auto sales and service business on December 31, 1964; and it is located at 870 Commonwealth Avenue, Brookline, Massachusetts.

On October 29, 1965, the incorporation's name was changed to Pontiac Village, Incorporated. Its officers are President and Treasurer RICHARD A. RUSSELL of West Hartford, Connecticut. Directors include RUSSELL and his wife.

Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Incorporated, 6 St. James Street, records were checked May 8, 1967, and reflect that [redacted]

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b7C

The Abstract of Certificate of Condition is as follows:

~~SECRET~~

Form CD-287. 100M-3-66-942326

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

KEVIN H. WHITE
Secretary of the Commonwealth

ABSTRACT OF CERTIFICATE OF CONDITION

Name of Corporation, Pontiac Village Inc.

Kind of Business,

Location,

Incorporated under the laws of

When Certificate was filed,

Date of Annual Meeting,

Authorized and issued capital stock of each class on date fixed in by-laws for annual meeting:—

CLASSES OF STOCK	*Par Value Per Share	TOTAL AUTHORIZED By Organization or Amendments: No. of Shares	TOTAL AUTHORIZED By Organization or Amendments: *Total Par Value	TOTAL ISSUED AND OUTSTANDING (Including any issued stock held as treasury stock): No. of Shares	TOTAL ISSUED AND OUTSTANDING (Including any issued stock held as treasury stock): Amount Then Paid Thereon
Preferred			$		$
Common					

*If stock is without par value, state "no par"

Date of Statement: May 15, 66

ASSETS	$	¢
Cash	$9,779	92
Accounts receivable, customers	309,952	07
Accounts receivable, others	350,905	81
Notes receivable, customers		
Notes receivable, others		
Merchandise	1,300,486	47
Supplies		
Securities (except those issued by this corporation)		
Real Estate		
Machinery	30,249	01
Motor Vehicles and Trailers	3,168	48
Equipment and Tools		
Furniture and Fixtures	14,593	40
Leasehold improvements	35,773	62
Prepaid insurance, interest, taxes	6,495	62
Patent rights, trademarks, copyrights		
Good Will		
Treasury stock		
Deposits	11,000	00
Investment in holding		
[illegible]	5,000	00
Profit and loss (deficit)		
TOTAL	$2,107,404	36

LIABILITIES	$	¢
Accounts payable	$227,181	15
Notes and acceptances payable	1,352,084	22
Accrued taxes, expenses	243,261	84
Mortgages {Specify kind of property mortgaged}		
Bonds	13,400	00
Reserves (classify below): Note: Reserves for depreciation or reduction of assets, if not deducted from assets, shall be appropriately described to identify the assets to which they apply.		
Capital stock with par value	232,710	75
Capital stock without par value		
No. of shares without par value { }		
Surplus	38,766	40
TOTAL	$2,107,404	36

a. Indicate on what basis any securities owned are stated above ("cost", "market", etc.)

b. Did the corporation have any contingent liabilities not reported above?

c. What of the above classes of assets, if any, were pledged?

b6
b7C

NH T-5 advised June 5, 1967, that a check had been drawn in March, 1967, on the Chemical Bank, 20 Pine Street Office, New York City, on the account of [redacted]

Ramparts then drew three checks on the account in the amount of [redacted]

[redacted] then made a check to the Mankauf Realty, probably in New York City, in the amount of [redacted]

The records of the Town Clerk, West Hartford, Connecticut, were reviewed June 5, 1967, under the name of RUSSELL and Russell Pontiac, Inc. Under the name of Russell Pontiac a transaction was located showing that this name is now, R R Realty, and that a mortgage in [redacted]

It was noted that on May 24, 1967, [redacted] attorneys filed a mortgage deed showing that [redacted]

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Haven, Connecticut

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 97-159

June 16, 1967

~~SECRET~~

Title RAMPARTS

Character REGISTRATION ACT

Reference Report of SA [redacted]
dated and captioned as above at
New Haven, Connecticut.

b6
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

8

~~S~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed
your agency.

OPTIONAL FORM NO 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN REG NO 27
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 7/19/67

b6
b7C

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-44254) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

4/18/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP2 TAPL
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW 7/19/87

Re report of SA [redacted] dated 6/16/67, at San Francisco.

By referenced report, San Francisco Division requested the identity of one E. A. SALK of Salk, Ward and Salk, Inc., who transferred $5,000 to "Rampart" on January 13, 1967. In this connection, the following is noted: u

The "Chicago Daily News," a Chicago, Illinois, daily newspaper, issue of June 4, 1966, page 7, column 1, Magazine Section, carried an article entitled "Much Needed Guide to Negro History." u

This aforementioned article was in the nature of a book review and reviewed a book entitled "A Layman's Guide to Negro History." The article identified the author of this book as ERWIN A. SALK. u

The article went on to note that ERWIN A. SALK was a businessman who was president of the Chicago mortgage banking firm of Salk, Ward and Salk, Inc., and that SALK resided in Evanston, Illinois. u

The article further identified SALK as having attended the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, and during World War II, as having served in the military being a graduate of the School of Military Governors of the Far East. u

The article further stated that SALK had served in postwar Japan and later was with Unesco in Paris, France. u

The article also stated that SALK has been president of the mortgage firm for five years and had served in active capacity with the Evanston-North Suburban Urban League and the Chicago Conference on Race and Religion. u

1 910 9+D

REC- 57 100 445393 56

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-[illegible])
1 - Chicago
DLT:cmv
(5)

JUL 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Referral/Consult

[redacted] c

[redacted] c

[redacted] c

[redacted] c

[redacted]

(U) ERWIN A. SALK is a wealthy individual who has donated money to Communist causes in the past. ~~c~~

(U) [redacted] 7/7/67) ~~c~~ b7D

For the general information of the San Francisco Division, it is to be noted that Salk, Ward and Salk, Inc., Mortgage Bankers, 11 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois, is one of the most prominent business financial institutions in the Chicago area and this firm, of which ERWIN SALK is now president, has been very active in promoting the development of suburban shopping centers, real estate developments and Loop business buildings. u

SALK has no current Communist Party membership and has not had for a number of years, however, as indicated in the aforementioned information, he has for many years made sizeable monetary contributions to the Communist Party of Illinois and has been active in Communist front organizations. u ~~c~~

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-09-2011

b6
b7C

Memorandum

[redacted]

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 7/27/67 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300)(RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT
(OO:SF)

Rerept of SA [redacted] dated 6/16/67, at SF.

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The following investigation was conducted at NY, as requested in re report:

[redacted]

[redacted] CSNY-1 [redacted]

[redacted] furnished SA [redacted]

b6
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b7D

[redacted]

~~CLASS. REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 DATE OF REVIEW 7/27/87~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

NO DISSEMINATION

SPECIAL RESTRICTIONS APPLY

SEE TOP SERIAL

100-445393-57

[redacted]

2-Bureau (RM)
2-San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
1-New York

WHB:db
(5)

[redacted]

~~Classified by~~ ~~[illegible]~~
~~Declassify on: OADR~~
1/30/85
CA 77-1999

JUL 31 1967

[redacted]

371

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

59 AUG 15 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

CONFIDENTIAL

History

[redacted] (U)

b6
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b7D

Operation

[redacted]

b7D

On 6/28/67, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, NYC, furnished by [redacted] to Investigative Clerk (IC) [redacted] reflected no unfavorable information concerning [redacted] The records reflected that [redacted] (U) [redacted]

b6
b7C

According to the 1967-1968, Westchester Telephone Directory, [redacted] has the business address of [redacted] The directory also contains a listing for [redacted] (U) [redacted]

On 10/24/62 [redacted] (Conceal). [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

* Concerning [redacted]

[redacted]

On 6/23/67, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York caused to be checked by SA [redacted] reflected no record of [redacted]

On 6/27/67, CSNY-1 advised SA WILLIAM F. MARTIN he could locate no credit record of [redacted]

A review of New York files reflected no information identifiable with [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

On 7/30/64, IC [redacted] obtained the following passport record at the Passport Office, Department of State, Washington, DC:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

b6
b7C

~~CONFID~~[redacted]

[redacted]

NY 157-1300

Name: [redacted]

Passport: [redacted] (Dependent), issued [redacted]

Restriction: Albania, Cuba and those portions of China, Korea and Viet Nam under [redacted]

Application dated:

Date of Birth:

Permanent residence:

Mailing address:

Port of departure: [redacted]

Approximate departure date:

Mode of travel:

Intended stay abroad:

Proposed itinerary:

Purpose of trip: Join family [redacted] -husband- [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] -son-
born [redacted] -daughter-
born [redacted] [redacted]

Parents: [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

In her application, she requested that her father, [redacted] United States Embassy, Athens, Greece, be notified in event of death or accident.

Last married on: [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

NY 157-1300

[redacted]
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Description

Height: 5'2"
Hair: Brown
Eyes: Brown
Marks: None listed
Occupation: Wife-mother

On 8/6/65, [redacted] (Conceal per request), [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

"Who's Who in America", 1966-1967, [redacted] [redacted] reflects [redacted] [redacted]

On 6/23/67, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, furnished by [redacted] to SA [redacted] [redacted] reflected no unfavorable information concerning [redacted] b6 b7C

On 6/27/67, CSNY-1 advised SA WILLIAM F. MARTIN he could furnish no information concerning [redacted] [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
[redacted]

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Concerning Mankauf Realty

A review of New York files contained no information concerning Mankauf Realty.

Current telephone directories for the five boroughs of the City of New York, were reviewed and no listing was located for Mankauf Realty.

On 6/27/67, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York caused to be checked by IC [redacted] reflected no record of Mankauf Realty. b6 b7C

On 6/27/67, records of CSNY-1 7&u caused to be checked by SA WILLIAM F. MARTIN, reflected no record of Mankauf Realty.

*[redacted]

The 1966-1967 Manhattan, NYC Telephone Directory lists RABINOWITZ and BOUDIN Attorneys, with offices at 30 East 42nd St., NYC, and also lists [redacted] LEONARD BOUDIN at this address.

(U) On 6/23/61 [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past, advised that LEONARD BOUDIN was a speaker at an enlarged New York County Communist Party committee meeting, which was held 6/21/61, at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., NYC. b7D

A current characterization of Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, Inc., is attached to the Appendix of this letter. This characterization contains additional information concerning [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

* Concerning Lincoln Web Offset Company

On 6/23/67, [redacted] advised SA DANIEL F. O'CONNOR that he had no record of the names of the principals of the Lincoln Web Offset Co., which is located at 200 Finn Court, Farmingdale, NY, but [redacted] U

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b7C
b7D

On 6/23/67, [redacted] (Conceal), [redacted] U

A review of NY files reflected no information concerning [redacted] or Lincoln Web Offset Company. U

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b7C

On 7/14/67, [redacted] (Conceal), [redacted] advised SA [redacted] U

A review of NY files contained no information concerning [redacted] however, he is possibly identical to [redacted] who is mentioned on numerous occasions in re report. U

[redacted] is probably identical to NY file 100-80523; Bufile 100-371447, who is neither on the Security Index or Reserve Index of the NYO. The following is a characterization of [redacted] U

[redacted]
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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b7C

On 6/30/50, LOUIS F. BUDENZ (conceal per request), who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted]

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised during 1952, that the editorial and reportorial staff of the "Daily Compass" was composed in the majority of Communists and Communist sympathizers. This source further advised that the rewrite men gave news a pro-Soviet slant, and there was a constant trading of news with the "Daily Worker".

b7D

The "Daily Worker" was an east coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on 1/13/58.

On 6/27/67, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, caused to be checked by IC [redacted] reflected no record for Lincoln Web Offset Company.

b6
b7C

On 6/27/67, records of CSNY 1, caused to be checked by SA WILLIAM F. MARTIN, reflected no record of Lincoln Web Offset Company.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 157-1300

APPENDIX

[redacted]

1.

LOUIS M. RABINOWITZ FOUNDATION, INCORPORATED

Records of the Secretary of State, Corporation Department, State of Delaware, as made available on March 30, 1961, reflect that a Certificate of Incorporation was filed on August 24, 1944, for the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, and the nature of business was - to undertake, promote, develop and carry on religious, charitable, scientific, literary and/or educational work. VICTOR RABINOWITZ was recorded as President of this foundation.

A source advised on April 3, 1967, that VICTOR RABINOWITZ is President of the foundation, and the address of the foundation is 30 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York.

In early 1962, a second source advised that GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) and others in the CP, USA leadership, complained about [redacted] because of information indicating that he had been donating money to and was listening to the "left faction" which included a number of people who were expelled from the CP, USA.

b6
b7C

On April 2, 1965, a third source advised that the foundation forwarded $6,000.00 to HERBERT APTHEKER to further the work of APTHEKER in preparing a bibliography of the public writings of Doctor W.E.B. DU BOIS.

A fourth source advised that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA held in December, 1959.

It is publicly known that W.E.B. DU BOIS died on August 28, 1963. At that time he had been residing in Ghana, having become a citizen of that country. He was the guest of President KWAME NKRUMAH, and he had become Director of the Encyclopedia Africana, which was sponsored by the Government of Ghana. In the Fall of 1961, at the age of 93, he joined the CP.

[redacted]

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

SAC, Baltimore **8/4/67**

Director, FBI (100-445393) **1 - Mr. B.A. Wells**

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

[redacted] C

1 - San Francisco (157-459)

FX-113 100 445393 58

REC-75

18 AUG 7 1967

BAW:jes
(5)

NOTE: [redacted]

MAILED 11
AUG 4 1967
COMM-FBI

~~CLASS.~~
~~REASON-FCIM~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 8/4/87~~

EXCL [illegible]
[illegible]

AUG [illegible] 1967

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

Mr. Tolson
Tele. Room
Miss Gandy

F B I

Date: 7/31/67

Transmit the following in ______________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)(100-3-104-47)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) - P
(100-42399) - P

RE: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C

CP, USA - COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - C

Re New York airtel to Bureau, 7/21/67, captioned "ALY ISMAIL EMBABY, aka; IS - UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC," and New York teletype 7/26/67, captioned "RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.; IS - C."

Reairtel reported that [redacted] for interview of [redacted] Reteletype reported that one [redacted] (LNU) of Ramparts Magazine, had contacted [redacted] (LNU) may be [redacted] was reported to have received [redacted]

b6
b7C

5 - Bureau (AM-RM)
2 - New York (AM-RM)
(1 - 157-1300)
(1 - 100-129802)
2 - San Francisco (1 - 157-459)
(1 - 100-42399)

EJO/jr
(9)

REC-1 100-445393-59

AUG 8 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

62 AUG 10 1967

Approved: ______________________ Sent ______________ M Per ______________
Special Agent in Charge

The July, 1967, issue of Ramparts contained an editorial and several articles on the Arab-Israeli dispute which follow the political line of criticizing U. S. imperialist oil interests in the Middle East while showing a degree of favoritism for the Arab position over that of Israel.

Ramparts emphasis in treating this complex problem on which many of its subscribers and donors have emotional and deep nationalistic sympathies for Israel, may prove to be a mistake. It seems curious that they should feature such a factional problem and follow a Soviet line rather than give it little or no coverage.

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

The reason for the requested visa to Israel for [redacted] may have been initiated by [redacted] so he could get a balanced view of the dispute or it may have been initiated by some of the Ramparts staff and directors to counter-balance [redacted] influence.

b6
b7C

There are insufficient known facts and too many complex problems at this time to make a recommendation under the Counterintelligence Program. Any news article on SCHEER's visit to Cairo and his pro-Arab affiliations may only publicize and create interest in subsequent issues of this magazine. It appears to be a situation which warrants close analysis for a proper future opportunity.

The Bureau and New York are requested to study the current (July) and future issues of Ramparts on this question and make recommendations.

No counterintelligence indicated / DR

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GO[illegible]NMENT

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 8/16/67

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24425)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C

Re Bureau letter to Baltimore, 8/4/67.

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

REC- 48

100 445393 6

(2)- Bureau (REGIS. MAIL)
2 - San Francisco (157-459) (REGIS. AIR MAIL)
2 - Baltimore
PDE:rms
(6)

~~7/18/86~~
~~CLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~
~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 RSH/hlc~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 7/16/87~~

15

54 AUG 2 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

100-445393-62

VIA TELETYPE
AUG 14 1967
ENCIPHERED

6:09 PM 8-14-67 FBC

~~SECRET~~

PRIORITY

TO THE PRESIDENT 01

TO SECRETARY OF STATE 012

[redacted] 02

~~Classified by 5668SLD/KAL~~
~~Mandatory 8-13-91~~
~~# NLJ 91-332~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~
~~OTHERWISE~~

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

~~SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

TASS NEWS AGENCY, INTERNAL SECURITY - RUSSIA

Referral/Consult

ORIGINAL FILED IN

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST MADE AVAILABLE THE FOLLOWING ON AUGUST FOURTEEN ONE NINE SIX SEVEN,

[redacted]

(S)

GP-1 ~~Classified by 7650 YHW~~
~~Exempt from GDS Category 2, 3~~
~~Date of Declassification Indefinite~~
4-13-78

~~CLASS. & EXT BY SP1/YS/Kl/ic~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2, 3~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 8/4/87~~

AUG 25 1967

~~SECRET~~

Referral/Consult

END AND HOLDDE WHAND ACK UR 001

[redacted]

NNNN

~~SECRET~~

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

DATE: 02-14-2011
FBI INFO.
CLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
REASON: 1.4 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: 02-14-2036

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 8/14/67

Transmit the following in ~~SECRET~~ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-183386)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-17076) (P*)

~~10-18-89 Classified by SP7 MAC/EP~~
~~Declassify on: OADR 89-183~~

TASS NEWS AGENCY
IS - R (X U)
(OO:NY)

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies and for New York one copy of LHM, dated and captioned as above.

The LHM is classified "~~Secret~~ - No Foreign Dissemination" since it sets forth information from a highly sensitive source of continuing value.

(S)

The first confidential source in LHM is [redacted] (S)

b1

[redacted]

(S)

(S) [redacted] ~~S~~

[redacted]

~~(S)~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN

WFO airtels and LHMs, 2/11/66 and 2/15/66, captioned [redacted] aka; ESPIONAGE - X" (OO:CE), Bufile [redacted] WFOfile [redacted] set forth information concerning the press conference of [redacted] on 2/10/66. 100-

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b3
b7E

-62

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED
141 AUG 21 1967

EX-115 REC-40

~~SEE ENCLOSURE~~ Doc't 824940

③ - Bureau (Enc. 8)
1 - New York (100-60713) (Info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - WFO [redacted]

JTF:smm
(5)

AIRTEL

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~
~~REASON-FCIM~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~
7/18/80

Classified by
Exempt from GDS, Category 2, 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
4-13-78

16 AUG 18 1967

Internal Security

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

~~SECRET~~

Several references to "Ramparts" are noted in WFO files. A news clipping from "The Worker," dated 11/30/65, page 5, describes "Ramparts" as a radical Catholic magazine. A clipping from same publication, dated 5/7/67, page 9, indicates "Ramparts" is a monthly magazine published in San Francisco, California.

Referral/Consult

(U)

[redacted]

(S)

It was stated in these reports that the [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] (S)

b6
b7C

According to SAC, BOSTON letter to SAC, NEW YORK, dated 7/12/56, under caption [redacted] aka [redacted] [redacted] SM-C," on 6/25/56, [redacted] [redacted], advised Bureau agents that at that time [redacted] [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

It is not known by WFO if [redacted] [redacted] is identical with [redacted] described above, who was born on [redacted] [redacted]

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

Domestic Intelligence [illegible]ision

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8/15/67

Information in the attached furnished by teletype to the President, Secretary of State, and Director, [redacted] [redacted] on August 14, 1967.

b3
b7E

It has also been made available to the Attorney General, U. S. Information Agency, and Peace Corps.

ECP:eco

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-09-2011

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~ ~~SECRET~~

Washington, D. C.
August 14, 1967

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

(U) TASS NEWS AGENCY
INTERNAL SECURITY - R ~~(C)~~

The Tass News Agency is an official Soviet Government news-gathering organization with headquarters in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and branches throughout the world.

On August 14, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a Marc Stone, "Ramparts" magazine, contacted the office of Tass News Agency, Washington, D. C. (WDC), on that date. Stone informed a representative of Tass News Agency that "Ramparts" magazine was holding a press conference on August 15, 1967, at 11:00 a.m., in the Cabinet Room of the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel, WDC, with a group of "returned" former Peace Corps men who represent a larger group of about 800 individuals who have signed a "position paper" calling for United States withdrawal from Vietnam. According to the source, the Tass News Agency will have representatives at this press conference. ~~(S)~~

(U) On February 10, 1966, a second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on February 3, 1966, Marc Stone, identified as a public relations representative for "Ramparts" magazine, 1182 Chestnut Street, Menlo Park, California, booked a conference room at the Mayflower Hotel for a press conference scheduled for 10:00 a.m., February 10, 1966. Donald Duncan, a Master Sergeant, who left the United States Army in September, 1965, was scheduled to be the principal speaker at the press conference in connection with a feature story captioned, "The Whole Thing Was A Lie!," appearing in the February, 1966, issue of "Ramparts."

AUG 12 15 28 PM '83

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~SECRET~~

~~Classified by 2650~~
~~Exempt from GDS, Category 2,3~~
~~Date of Declassification Indefinite~~
4-13-78

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 JSK~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 8/14/87~~
7/18/80

100-116573 62

[redacted]

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

TASS NEWS AGENCY

(U)

Copies of two press releases relating to the conference on February 10, 1966, under the sponsorship of "Ramparts," 1182 Chestnut Street, Menlo Park, California, listed "Marc Stone, Public Relations, 120 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) Plaza 5-5180."

The above press releases reported Sergeant Duncan's criticism of United States activities in Vietnam and the views of "Ramparts" editors concerning conditions in Oakland, California, which they considered could contribute to a "Watts-Type Riot."

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 8/17/67

Transmit the following in ______ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
OO: San Francisco

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of FD 302, dated 8/14/67; and two copies for each division concerned with the sources of deposits to the "Ramparts Magazine" (RM) bank account in San Francisco.

The purpose of checking bank deposits on captioned organization is to determine the source of extraneous funds. This publication has operated with large and continuous deficits so that the source of its subsidy should be identified.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 3)(RM)
2 - New York (157-1300)(Encl. 2)(RM)
2 - Denver (100-9382)(Encl. 2)(RM)
2 - New Haven (97-159)(Encl. 2)(RM)
2 - Philadelphia (Encl. 2)(RM)
2 - Washington Field Office (Encl. 2)(RM)
2 - San Francisco
EJO:cmc
(15)

ENCLOSURE

REC-47 100 445393 63

EX-115

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

Approved: ______ Special Agent in Charge Sent ______ M Per ______

55 AUG 2 1967

LEADS:

DENVER:

Reference Denver letter to San Francisco, 8/2/67, which reported subscription circulation figures obtained from the Neodata Service, Inc., Boulder, Colo., and the monthly deposits by this company to the Ramparts account at the Boulder National Bank. Denver is requested to continue to report this information on a monthly basis.

Denver's attention is directed to [redacted] Denver is requested to make inquiries only through established and secure bank sources re check tranactions of "Ramparts" in the Denver Division. If all transfers reflect normal business transactions, no further investigation is requested. Inquiry should be limited to locating any funds extraneous to the normal business operation. b7D

NEW HAVEN:

Reference report of SA [redacted] dated 6/16/67, at New Haven, and captioned "Ramparts Magazine". b6 b7C b7D

[redacted]

SF 157-459
EJO:cmc

Report any recent information on possibility of "Ramparts" moving its operation to the East Coast.

NEW YORK:

[redacted]

b7D

[redacted]

Referenced New York letter of 7/27/67, contained descriptive background data on [redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] reported on 12/23/66, that RM held a peace conference at the World Church Center, 777 UN Plaza, New York City, on 12/22/66, for the purpose of publicizing an article in the January, 1967, issue of "Ramparts" entitled, "Children of Vietnam". Distributed at this peace conference was a copy of a letter from the editor of "Ramparts" to [redacted] [redacted] which suggested that the condition of the wounded children in Vietnam be investigated by the UN Children's Fund. (Located Page 71-74 of report SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 6/16/67, at San Francisco, captioned "Ramparts".)

b6
b7C

New York is requested to search indices on [redacted] [redacted] as it is possible that he was the source for material for "Ramparts" article on "Children of Vietnam", [redacted]

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE:

Check indices on [redacted] see information on [redacted] under above lead for New York.

PHILADELPHIA:

[redacted]

b7D

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/15/67

[redacted]

[redacted] (protect identity), reviewed [redacted]

b6
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b7D

[redacted]

[redacted] [redacted]

b7D

[redacted]

COPIES DESTROYED
343 FEB 16 1971

On 8/14/67 at San Francisco, California File # SF 157-459

by SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN - rv Date dictated 8/14/67

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Memorandum

TO Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE 8/16/67

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM S. J. Papich

SUBJECT RAMPARTS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

[redacted] (U)

Referral/Consult

[redacted] (C)

ACTION:

The above information is being directed to the attention of the Internal Security Section.

1 - C. D. Brennan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

SJP:rab
(4) rab

0-1's to NH, PH, WFO, NY, DN for info. Let. 9-28-67 wmp:rahr

EX-115

5-mp

7/18/80

~~CLASS. & EXT BY SPLYSH/hic~~
~~REASON-FCIM II 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 8/16/87~~

REC-47 100-445393-64

AUG 22 1967

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

55AUG 2 1967

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-09-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 8/23/67 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24425)

CDB

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C

(2) Ryan
(1) K

Re Baltimore letter, 8/16/67.

[redacted] C

[redacted] C

Referral/Consult

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

EX-105

(2) - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Baltimore
MEG:rlj
(3)

REC- 59 100-445393-65

~~1/8/80~~
~~CLASS. & EXT BY SP4/YST/kc~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 8/23/87~~

14 AUG 24 1967

~~crossed~~
C.C. to SF 9-8-67 by O-7.
JFM:RAK

C.C. 932

~~INT. SEC.~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

55 SEP 15 1967

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-65)

8-3

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-09-2011

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b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORTING OFFICE BOSTON	**OFFICE OF ORIGIN** SAN FRANCISCO	**DATE** 8/24/67	**INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD** 8/14 - 21/67
TITLE OF CASE RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.		**REPORT MADE BY** JOHN F. NOONAN	**TYPED BY** maf
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-C REGISTRATION ACT	

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF CLASS DATE 11-7-80~~

REFERENCE Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 6/16/67 at San Francisco.

PA

- RUC -

INFORMANTS

Identity	Location
(U) BS T-1 is [redacted]	66-1436
BS T-2 is	100-36007-1
(U) BS T-3 is [redacted] [redacted]	100-36007-1
BS T-4 is [redacted] PSI	[redacted]

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

b7D

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b7C
b7D

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~ 7/18/10
~~REASON FCIM II 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 8/24/67

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

5 - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)
3 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
1 - Boston (100-37684)

1 xerox - [redacted] re Martin Peretz
10-26-67

100-445393-66

REC 51

EX 104

12 AUG 28 1967

b3
b7E

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	ACSI	OSI	ONI	RAO(ISD)
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	9-8-67			
How Fwd.	R/S			
By	THK:RAK			

Notations

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
INT. SEC

66 SEP 12 1967

INFORMANTS CONTINUED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

(U)

Identity	Location
BS T-5 is [redacted] [redacted]	100-35629-75
BS T-6 is [redacted] [redacted] by request)	100-35629-71
BS T-7 is [redacted]	100-35629-79

b6
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b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

The pretext mentioned as being used to determine the nature of CPC was a telephone call to [redacted] [redacted] on 5/14/61 by SA JAMES T. SULLIVAN in the guise of an individual interested in contributing to CPC.

b6
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(U) This report is being classified confidential since the information it contains furnished by BS T-1 through BS T-7 could logically result in identification of these informants, thus jeopardizing their future activities.

Records of the Division of Corporations, State House, Boston, Mass., were reviewed by IC [redacted]

b7D

(U) Information furnished by BS T-5 cannot be made public except through the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

(U) [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-09-2011

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Report of: JOHN F. NOONAN **Office:** Boston, Massachusetts
Date: 8/24/67

Field Office File #: 100-37684 **Bureau File #:** 100-445393

Title: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

~~TRS~~
~~C. lass~~
~~11-1-80~~

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis: Available information concerning the background and activities of [redacted] and [redacted] also known as [redacted] [redacted] set out.

b6
b7C

- RUC -

Details:

I. [redacted]

On May 12, 1961, [redacted] [redacted] Harvard University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised that her records identified [redacted] as having been born [redacted] His home address was listed as [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

(U)

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SPL-GSK~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 8/24/87~~

7/18/86

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

On May 15, 1961, [redacted] [redacted] Harvard University, advised that [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] showed his marital status as single and was at that time residing at [redacted] [redacted]

The 1966-67 Harvard University Directory of Officers and Students lists [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

b6
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On August 4, 1967, the records of the Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Inc., 6 St. James Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, were checked by personnel of that bureau and no record was found for [redacted]

On August 15, 1967, the records of the Office of the Massachusetts Commissioner of Probation, Suffolk County Courthouse, Boston, Massachusetts, a central repository for criminal and traffic conviction records in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, were checked by personnel of that office and a record was found for [redacted] born [redacted] These records identify his parents as [redacted] Addresses are shown as [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] The following offenses were listed:

Date	Offense	Disposition
[redacted]		

On May 11, 1961, BS T-1 advised that [redacted] [redacted] was active in the formative stages of the Cuban Protest Committee (CPC).

(U) BS T-2 advised on May 11, 1961, that the CPC stemmed initially from a protest meeting held at Emerson Hall, Harvard University, April 26, 1961, and that H. STUART HUGHES, Professor of History, Harvard University, was the initiator of the group and was responsible for the circulation of a letter to Harvard faculty members asking money for the CPC.

By means of a pretext, it was determined on May 4, 1961, that according to H. STUART HUGHES, the CPC had been formed by a group of individuals in Cambridge, graduate school and junior Harvard faculty members, who were interested in protesting American military intervention in Cuba; that the CPC had no reason for existing other than to submit its protest and is not connected with any other organization; that the individuals interested in it are primarily and basically those working in the educational field. It was also determined that inasmuch as the primary purpose for organizaing the CPC was to obtain money for the placing of an advertisement in the "New York Times," there would be little or no further activity by the CPC.

The "Jerusalem Post," an Israeli newspaper, in its edition of July 29, 1962, carried an article captioned, "Harvard Lecturer Charges United States Soblen Court Unfair." This article, datelined at Tel Aviv, in part, read, "Allegations that the trial of Dr. Robert Soblen by a Federal Court in the United States last September was a 'miscarriage of justice' were made here yesterday by Mr. Martin Peretz, a Teaching Fellow in Government at Harvard University.

"Mr. Peretz made this charge in an interview with the 'Jerusalem Post' at the Sheraton Hotel last night. He said he was prompted to do some personal research into the court archives of the case following the renewed spate of publicity given to the case recently."

The "Jerusalem Post," in its July 30, 1962 edition, published a letter captioned, "FBI Mislead Soblen Judge," dated July 29, 1962, at Tel Aviv and signed "Martin Peretz, Teaching Fellow in Government, Harvard University." This letter referred to the interview of Peretz published on July 29, 1962, and specifically to one Hans Hirschfeld and the alleged withholding of information concerning Hirschfeld at the Soblen trial.

> The "Record American," a daily Boston newspaper, in its September 12, 1962 edition, carried an article "Death 'Commutes' Soblen's Life Term." This article, in part, read, "Runaway Soviet spy Dr. Robert A. Soblen died yesterday in convulsions, five days after lapsing into a coma from a self-administered overdose of barbiturates, in an ambulance taking him to London Airport for deportation to the United States."

The February 9, 1962 issue of the "Cornell Daily Sun," a daily student newspaper published at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, contained an announcement concerning a peace march at Washington, D. C. from February 16 to 18, 1962. This item states that student peace groups throughout the nation will participate and the march is being coordinated by "Turn Toward Peace," a group composed of persons representing organizations devoted to a peaceful solution of the Cold War. Cornell SANE is listed as the sponsoring group at Cornell.

(U) On February 12, 1962, BS T-3 advised that a meeting was held at Willard Straight Hall, Cornell Campus, Friday afternoon, February 9, 1962, by the Cornell Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) for the purpose of discussing this Washington peace march, which was identified by the name "Student Action for a Turn Toward Peace, Washington Project, February 16-17, 1962." This meeting consisted of a speech by an individual who identified himself as Martin Peretz, a graduate student at Harvard University and faculty advisor of Young Americans for Freedom at Harvard. He stated that he was making a tour of several campuses for the purpose of discussing this Washington peace march. He discussed the peace issue at quite some length and reviewed the movement's policy statement, which urges the United States not to resume atmospheric testing and not to extend nuclear arms to nations which do not already have them.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PERETZ gave detailed instructions as to the manner of dress and personal deportment while in Washington.

(U) [On May 26, 1967, BS T-4] advised that the steering committee of an organization known as "Vietnam Summer" met at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on May 24, 1967. BS T-4 identified one of the members of the steering committee as [redacted]

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A characterization of "Vietnam Summer" is contained in the appendix.

(U) (U) [On June 8, 1967, BS T-4] advised] that the steering committee of "Vietnam Summer" met at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on June 4, 1967. Over twenty persons were present and among those signing the census sheet showing their presence was [redacted]
β [redacted] [redacted]

II. [redacted] also known as [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] Connecticut State Bureau of Vital Statistics, 79 Elm Street, Hartford, Connecticut, advised on May 4, 1967, that she was unable to locate a record of a birth for [redacted] born [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] stated that the father was born in [redacted] and the mother in [redacted]. The parents were married [redacted] and had one other child, a girl, named [redacted]

Miss [redacted] United States District Court, Hartford, Connecticut, advised on May 4, 1967, that her files do not reflect any information to show the parents of [redacted] have been naturalized.

[redacted] Records and Administration, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), [redacted] Hartford, advised on May 5, 1967, that her files contain no information concerning [redacted]

[redacted] Superior Court, Washington Street, Hartford, advised on May 8, 1967, that his files contain no information reflecting that [redacted] or his parents have made any attempt to change their names through the courts in this area.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On January 19, 1967, BS T-5 advised that when [redacted] [redacted] first came to Hartford, Connecticut, he used the name [redacted]

b6
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(U) BS T-5 stated that [redacted] had withdrawn a large sum of money from the bank and made a loan to Ramparts Magazine in California and is supposed to influence the policy of this magazine.

(U) BS T-5 stated that a typical deal of [redacted] is the following example:

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In June, 1966, [redacted] BS T-5 stated that he did not know the source of [redacted]

(U) On March 9, 1967, BS T-5 advised that [redacted]

(U) [redacted] BS T-5 stated that [redacted]

[redacted] currently resides at [redacted]

[redacted] is known to operate [redacted]

On April 28, 1967, records of the Division of Corporations, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, were reviewed. These records showed that DICK RUSSELL, Pontiac, Inc., was incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts as an automobile sales and service business on December 31, 1964. It is located at 870 Commonwealth Avenue, Brookline, Massachusetts.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On October 29, 1965, the corporation's name was changed to Pontiac Village, Inc. Its officers were as follows:

President and Treasurer	RICHARD A. RUSSELL [redacted]	b6 b7C
Vice President	JACK GIBBONS [redacted]	
Clerk	LOUIS SNYDER [redacted]	

The following are listed as directors of the corporation:

RICHARD A. RUSSELL
[redacted]

ELEANOR RUSSELL
[redacted]

JACK GIBBONS
[redacted]

An abstract of the certificate of condition filed by the corporation is attached as an appendix to this report.

On May 8, 1967, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Inc., 6 St. James Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, were checked by personnel of that bureau and a record was found for [redacted] wife [redacted] residing at [redacted] [redacted] His employment was shown as [redacted] The only information on the credit record is that an inquiry was made by the State Street Bank and Trust Company in April, 1966. [redacted] credit rating is shown as satisfactory.

(U) [BS T-6 advised on April 26, 1967,] that he has heard rumors that Pontiac Village was in such bad shape financially that General Motors Acceptance Corporation (GMAC) had stepped in and taken over its management without giving this fact any publicity.

(U) BS T-6 stated that Pontiac Village and Northeast Leasing Corporation, which is a subsidiary of Pontiac Village and located at the same address, have both had a poor reputation in the automobile trade, being known as sharp dealers and probably untrustworthy to deal with.

(U) BS T-6 stated that [redacted] and the entire managerial staff of Pontiac Village. BS T-6 is not aware of the reason for the dismissals but heard that the entire staff were opposed to some phases of the operation of Pontiac Village.

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He believes [redacted] at the time when Northeast Leasing Corporation leased a 1967 green four-door Pontiac sedan, Executive Model, to MARTIN LUTHER KING in January, 1967. It is noted that this car is registered in Georgia and has registration plate [redacted] BS T-6 believes that [redacted] might have actually handled the transaction and should certainly know of it.

(U) On May 3, 1967, BS T-6 advised that he had learned that [redacted] was currently connected with City Ford, Plainfield, New Jersey.

(U) On April 27, 1967, BS T-7 advised that he is not aware of any Communist Party (CP) activity on the part of [redacted] also known as [redacted] in the greater Boston area.

On May 9, 1967, [redacted] who was a member of the CPUSA, [redacted] a former CP member of the [redacted] who regularly furnished information [redacted] both advised that they knew of no CP activity on the part of [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

KEVIN H. WHITE
Secretary of the Commonwealth

ABSTRACT OF CERTIFICATE OF CONDITION

Name of Corporation, Pontiac Village Inc.
Kind of Business,
Location,
Incorporated under the laws of
When Certificate was filed,
Date of Annual Meeting,

Authorized and issued capital stock of each class on date fixed in by-laws for annual meeting:—

CLASSES OF STOCK	*Par Value Per Share	TOTAL AUTHORIZED By Organization or Amendments: No. of Shares	TOTAL AUTHORIZED By Organization or Amendments: *Total Par Value	TOTAL ISSUED AND OUTSTANDING (Including any issued stock held as treasury stock): No. of Shares	TOTAL ISSUED AND OUTSTANDING (Including any issued stock held as treasury stock): Amount Then Paid Thereon
Preferred			$		$
Common					

*If stock is without par value, state "no par"

Date of Statement: May 15, 66

ASSETS			LIABILITIES		
Cash	$ 9,779	92	Accounts payable	$ 227,181	15
Accounts receivable, customers	309,953	07	Notes and acceptances payable	1,352,084	22
Accounts receivable, others	350,905	51	Accrued taxes, expenses	243,261	84
Notes receivable, customers					
Notes receivable, others			Mortgages {Specify kind of property mortgaged}		
Merchandise	1,300,486	47			
Supplies			Bonds	13,400	00
			Reserves (classify below):		
Securities {except those issued by this corporation}			NOTE Reserves for depreciation or reduction of assets, if not deducted from assets, shall be appropriately described to identify the assets to which they apply.		
Real Estate					
Machinery	30,249	01			
Motor Vehicles and Trailers	3,168	45			
Equipment and Tools					
Furniture and Fixtures	14,593	40			
Leasehold improvements	35,773	63			
Prepaid insurance, interest, taxes	61,495	62	Capital stock with par value	232,710	75
Patent rights, trademarks, copyrights			Capital stock without par value		
Good Will			No of shares without par value { }		
Treasury stock			Surplus	38,766	40
Deposits	11,000	00			
Investment in wholly					
owned subsidiary	5,000	00			
Profit and loss (deficit)					
TOTAL	$2,107,404	36	8A TOTAL	$2,107,404	36

a. Indicate on what basis any securities owned are stated above ("cost", "market", etc.)
b. Did the corporation have any contingent liabilities not reported above?
classes of assets, if any, were pledged?

APPENDIX

"VIETNAM SUMMER"

A pamphlet published by "Vietnam Summer," entitled, "Vietnam Summer 1967, Project Profiles," states, "Vietnam Summer is a nationwide effort to reach millions of citizens concerned about the war who remain isolated from each other and have not made themselves heard. Working to generate intensive activity in local communities across the country, Vietnam Summer aims at making anti-war sentiment more politically effective. This undertaking rests strongly on community organizing."

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

August 24, 1967

Title RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Reference Report of SA JOHN F. NOONAN, dateddand captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

10

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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b7C

S 49

ASSI INTERVIEW Rec'd 8/18/67

AVANA IN SPANISH TO THE AMERICAS 0030 GMT 17 AUGUST 1967--E

(INTERVIEW WITH RAMPARTS MAGAZINE LASO CONFERENCE REPRESENTATIVE
N GERASSI--RECORDED)

(TEXT) JOHN GERASSI REPRESENTED THE U.S. MAGAZINE RAMPARTS AT THE LASO CONFERENCE IN HAVANA AND COVERED THE ENTIRE EVENT. A FEW HOURS BEFORE HE LEFT OUR COUNTRY TO RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES, WE HAD THE FOLLOWING CONVERSATION WITH HIM:

QUESTION: JOHN, WHAT IMPRESSIONS CAN YOU GIVE US FROM YOUR STAY IN CUBA?

GERASSI: WELL, I ARRIVED HERE IN JUNE--26 JUNE--(CORRECTS HIMSELF) 3 JUNE--SO I WAS HERE BEFORE ALL THE NEWSPAPERMEN AND EVERYONE ARRIVED, AND I WAS ABLE TO TOUR FOUR PROVINCES. THEN I WENT TO ENGLAND FOR THE LIBERATION DIALECTS--THE CONGRESS--AND I RETURNED HERE IN TIME TO GO TO SANTIAGO. FROM SANTIAGO, AFTER THE 26TH, I RETURNED HERE (WORDS INDISTINCT). SO I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE A BIT OF CUBA--BESIDES HAVANA--AND OF THE CHANGES THAT THERE HAVE BEEN SINCE '64 WHEN I WAS HERE BEFORE. WELL, IT WAS ALL VERY NICE FOR ME. IT WAS A VERY INTERESTING EXPERIENCE--BESIDES IT WAS VERY GAY. THE CHANGES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE ARE CHANGES THAT I CONSIDER VERY IMPORTANT AND VERY POSITIVE--ESPECIALLY THE CHANGE CONCERNING BUREAUCRATIC AFFAIRS, FOR EXAMPLE. IN '64 I WAS A LITTLE AFRAID THAT THE BUREAUCRACY HERE WAS GOING TO GROW STRONGLY. I SAW THAT IT WAS BEGINNING TO MAKE THE SAME MISTAKES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE EUROPEAN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. NOW THERE IS A GREAT CHANGE. EVERYONE IS AWARE OF THE PROBLEMS OF BUREAUCRATIZATION. THIS, FOR ME, IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE CHANGE THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE DURING THESE THREE YEARS.

QUESTION: JOHN, WE KNOW THAT YOU HAVE KOVERED THE ENTIRE LASO CONFERENCE AND ALSO A SERIES OF HAPPENINGS THAT HAVE ARISEN CONNECTED WITH THIS EVENT FOR THE MAGAZINE. WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL US IF YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FUNCTION AS A REPORTER IN CUBA WITH COMPLETE FREEDOM, DURING ALL THIS TRAVEL AND DURING ALL THE COVERAGE OF THIS GREAT EVENT IN HAVANA.

REC-23 100-445393-67

GERASSI: YES, OF COURSE--WITH COMPLETE FREEDOM. I COULD SEE THE PEOPLE I WANTED--ALMOST EVERYONE I WANTED TO SEE, EXCEPT FIDEL HIMSELF, FINALLY, A GROUP OF REPORTERS--I THINK THERE WERE ABOUT SEVEN OR EIGHT OF US--STAYED THERE IN THE PALACE AFTER THE PARTY AND WE HAD AN INTERVIEW WITH FIDEL--SOME VERY VERY INTERESTING THINGS--THERE, SPEAKING SERIOUSLY, NOT ONLY ABOUT LATIN AMERICA BUT ALSO ABOUT U.S. PROBLEMS.

3 AUG 28 1967

File 100-445393

5

57 SEP 5 1967

WHEN THE PRESIDENT [illegible] ASKED EVERYBODY IF HE WERE [illegible] BIT SURPRISED--THERE WERE F[illegible]S, FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN THE [illegible]K RE[illegible] THOSE QUESTIONS--FOR ME IT WAS A BIT STRANGE BECAUSE I FOUND THESE QUESTIONS RATHER NAIVE. I DIDN'T THINK ANYONE WOULD REACT THAT WAY.

NOW OF COURSE, IF I, WITH ALL I KNOW, AND WITH THE CONVICTION AND THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THEY ARE FROM THE CIA--IF A REPORTER CAME TO ME AND SAID "BUT WHAT PROOF DO YOU HAVE THAT THEY ARE FROM THE CIA?"--SINCE SO MUCH HAS BEEN PUBLISHED--WELL, THEN THE PRESIDENT MUST HAVE THOUGHT--AND SINCE HE KNOWS--WELL, THAN THAT COMES AS A SHOCK. I UNDERSTAND THAT INSTINCTIVELY--THAT IS WHAT IS GREAT, IN CUBA--DIPLOMACY HERE HAS A SENSE OF--THAT IT IS NOT AS IMPORTANT AS THE HUMAN REACTION. SOMEONE SAYS SOMETHING HERE, AND A REPORTER SEEMS TO DOUBT IT--THEN THE PRESIDENT REACTS LIKE A MAN--A MAN WHO HAS GIVEN HIS WORD, AND HOW IS IT POSSIBLE THAT SOMEONE MIGHT DOUBT HIS WORD! SO, HE INTERVENES DIRECTLY.

OF COURSE, IT MIGHT TURN OUT THAT IN LOOK MAGAZINE, OR IN SOME OTHER U.S. MAGAZINE, THIS MIGHT BE USED AS PROOF THAT U.S. REPORTERS WERE BEING PRESSURED A BIT. THAT IS WHY I HAVE TRIED TO EXPLAIN THIS POSITION TO THE PRESIDENT. BUT I, KNOWING THE CUBANS AND THE PRESIDENT A BIT BETTER, REALIZED THAT IT WAS NOT PRESSURE. IT WAS SIMPLY SAYING THAT "HERE ARE THE PROOFS--WE SHOW THEM, WE EXPLAIN THEM--AND SO HAW CAN THEY ASK THESE QUESTIONS? IT'S A PERSONAL THING!

"HOW, IF ONE THINKS ABOUT IT--ACTUALLY, IT IS GREAT--IS IT THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD ACTUALLY GO THERE AND START ANSWERING REPORTERS! IN WHAT OTHER COUNTRY WOULD A THING LIKE THIS HAPPEN? AND, BESIDES GIVING REPORTERS THE LIBERTY TO ANSWER--AND TO ANSWER WHATEVER THEY WISH! IT IS GREAT! BUT, OF COURSE, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF TRADITIONAL U.S. REPORTERS, I AM AFRAID THAT THEY ARE GOING TO MISINTERPRET IT.

GERASSI: THE YOUTH. FOR ME, IT IS GREAT TO SEE THE REVOLUTIONARY FEELING OF THIS YOUTH, WHICH IS ABANDONING ALL THE CLICHES, ALL THE OLD CONCEPTS, ALL THAT IS TRADITIONAL THOUGHT, IN ORDER TO FORM A NEW CONCEPT OF THE REVOLUTION. I MEAN, THERE IS A CULTURAL REVOLUTION GOING ON HERE--MADE BY THE YOUNG PEOPLE--WITHOUT EXTREMES, WITHOUT UPSETTING THE GENERAL TREND. BKT FOR ME THIS YOUTH THAT WORKS, THAT IS SO DEDICATED AND THAT AT THE SAME TIME IS THINKING JND CREATING A NEW WAY OF THINKING--WHICH ONE CAN SEE IN THE CRITICAL THOUGHT, IN THE WAY THAT THE DAILY JUVENTUD REBELDE IS BECOMING OUTSTANDING. LITTLE BY LITTLE--THE PEOPLE FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY--THE WAY THEY WORK IN THE FIELDS AND RETURN AND--THERE IS A REAL FEELING OF THE CREATION OF A NEW KIND OF MAN--THE SOCIALIST MAN.

THAT IS WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT. AND FOR ME THAT IS THE MOST MARVELOUS THING THAT I SEE NOW, AND THAT WAS NOT SO EVIDENT IN '64. BUT IT IS EVIDENT HERE NOW, WITH THE NEW GENERATION.

WE HAVE BROUGHT YOU AN INTERVIEW WITH JOHN GERASSI, WHO, REPRESENTING THE U.S. MAGAZINE RAMPARTS, DID ALL THE REPORTING ON THE LAOS CONFERENCE IN HAVANA.

(ENDALL)

17 AUG 1745Z AM/BG

3 of 3

SO I AM LEAVING [illegible]PPILY. BESIDES, WHEN I MA[illegible] TOUR--FOR EXAMPLE WHEN I WEN[illegible]NE DAY TO SAN ANDRES, IN J[illegible]--I WANTED TO SEE THE PEASANTS WHO HAVE THEIR OWN LAND, TO TALK WITH THEM FRANKLY--SO I WENT THERE AND ARRIVED THERE, WITH NO OFFICIAL OR TRANSLATOR OR ANYTHING., AND THE PEOPLE TALKED TO ME COMPLETELY OPENLY AND EVERYTHING.

IT WAS THE SAME HERE IN HAVANA. FOR TWO DAYS I WANDERED THROUGH OLD HAVANA, AND I STOOD IN LINES, TALKING TO PEOPLE. I WENT LOOKING FOR CARLOS PUEBLA BY MYSELF--I HAVE KNOWN HIM FOR A LONG TIME--AND--NO, I HAVE HAD ALMOST MORE FREEDOM THAN IN THE COUNTRIES THAT PURPOSLY PRESENT ONE KIND OF FREEDOM SO THAT PEOPLE WILL THINK THERE IS TOTAL FREEDOM, BUT THAT ACTUALLY CORRELATE THINGS SO THAT THERE WILL BE A LINE--SO THAT EVERYONE WILL FOLLOW THE SAME LINE.

HERE, ON THE OTHER HAND, I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO TALK TO PEOPLE WHO HELD DIFFERENT VIEWS AND WHO SPOKE THESE DIFFERENCES OPENLY, WITH NO PROBLEMS. FOR EXAMPLE, A VERY INTERESTING INTERVIEW WITH CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ IN WHICH SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF DISTRIBUTION AND OF PUBLIC CONSUMPTION CAME UP, AND HE ANSWERED ME FRANKLY, TALKING FREELY ABOUT THE PROBLEMS AND OF THE MISTAKES, AND ABOUT THE THINGS THAT HAPPEN--YOU KNOW.

ALL THIS REINFORCES THE IDEA I HAVE THAT THIS IS A TRULY REVOLUTIONARY COUNTRY--IN THE SENSE THAT THE REVOLUTION HAS NOT STOPPED. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS MORE REVOLUTIONARY TODAY THAN IN '64. THIS FOR ME IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING.

QUESTION: AND THE FACT, JOHN, THAT YOU SPEAK RATHER CORRECT SPANISH IS DIRECT EVIDENCE THAT YOU CAN SPEAK TO ALL THE PEOPLE PERSONALLY, THAT YOU CAN GET A DIRECT IMPRESSION--NOT AN IMPRESSION THROUGH INTERPRETERS. THAT HELPS A LOT IN YOUR JOB AS REPORTER. WE WOULD NOW LIKE TO HAVE YOUR IMPRESSIONS ON THE PRESENTATION OF THE CIA AGENTS AT THAT CEREMONY BEFORE ALL THE LASO DELEGATES AND ON PRESIDENT DORTICOS' INTERVENTION, IN WHOSE DEBATE WE SAW (YOU) INTERVENE DIRECTLY IN A VERY INTERESTING WAY.

(MORE)

17 AUG 1730Z BS/BG

FBIS 50

ONLY ADD 49 (GERASSI INTERVIEW)

XXX VERY INTERESTING WAY.

(TEXT) GERASSI: WELL, FOR ME, PRESIDENT DORTICOS' INTERVENTION SEEMED A BIT STRANGE, BECAUSE THE PROBLEM OF WHETHER OR NOT THE AGENTS ARE FROM THE CIA DOES NOT EXIST FOR ME. WE AT RAMPARTS, FOR EXAMPLE--MY MAGAZINE--WE HAVE DONE A LOT OF WORK ON THE CIA. SO I KNOW--THERE IS PROOF--THAT THERE IS NOT A SINGLE CUBAN COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY IN MIAMI OR IN THE UNITED STATES WHO MAKES ONE MOVE WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION, OR ORDERS, FROM THE CIA.

SO WHEN I THINK "COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS" I IMMEDIATELY THINK "CIA." I KNOW THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1477091-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 54
Page 8 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 9 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 32 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 33 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 36 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 37 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 38 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 57 ~ OTHER;
Page 58 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 59 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 60 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 61 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 62 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 63 ~ Referral/Consult;
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Page 77 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 78 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 79 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 80 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 81 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 82 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 84 ~ b7D;
Page 93 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 104 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 105 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 107 ~ b7D;
Page 108 ~ b7D;
Page 120 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 121 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 128 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 171 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 172 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 173 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 174 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 175 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 177 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 179 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 182 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 234 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 235 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 236 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 249 ~ Referral/Consult;

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104
UNITED STATES GO[illegible]T

Memorandum

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-10-2011

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI(100-445393)
(100-3-104-47)

DATE: 8/24/67

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO(157-459)(P)
(100-42399)(P)

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF~~ ~~DATE~~ 11-12-83

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS-C

CP, USA-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS-C

Re New York airtel to Director, 7/31/67, under above dual caption with copies to New York.

The September, 1967, issue of "Ramparts" contained a special editorial report written by Managing Editor ROBERT SCHEER in Cairo, 7/31/67. (xerox copies attached)

EGYPT

This article supplemented the editorial in the 7/67, issue (no August issue published) and placed this publication in a deep partisan position on a political problem of concern to many of its subscribers and financial contributors.

An analysis of SCHEER's latest editorial on the Near East dispute will not be made from a point of reference which is assumed to be impartial and factual, but from the viewpoint of a hypothetical average subscriber.

This average subscriber may be described as one who considers himself progessive and politically independent. His personality may entertain deep dissatisfactions which whets his appetite for articles of social criticism and political dissent. He has had past associations and sympathies for Jewish acquaintances, Israel, Jewish culture and Jewish suffering of Nazi persecution.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
~~ENCLOSURE ATTACHED IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~
OTHERWISE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-104-47

1-9/19/26

4-Bureau(RM)(Encls. 2) ENCLOSURE
(2-100-445393)
(2-100-3-104-47)
2-New York(RM)(Encls. 2)
(1-157-1300) [redacted]
1-100-129802)
2-San Francisco
(1-157-459)
(1-100-42399)
EJO: sjt
(8)

REC 54 100-445393-68

16 AUG 28 1967

Ref to 9-10-67 Derived

1D

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~ ~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2~~ ~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 8/24/77

12/5 ~~Classified by~~ 1833
~~Exempt from GDS, Category~~ 2
~~Date of Declassification~~

INT. SEC.

54 SEP 26 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SF 157-459
   100-42399
EJO: sjt

SCHEER's objective in writing this editorial is to influence this hypothetical reader without alienating him. The readers instinctive reaction of admiration and support of the Israelic victory must be deflected, confused or nullified.

(U) SCHEER's editorial which was composed on the basis of his interviews and conversations while in Cairo under the guidance of Egyptian propaganda and intelligence personnel between 7/13-31/67, may appear to the average reader who is widely read on the facts in the Near East dispute to be pro-Nasser, anti-Israel and anti-U. S. SCHEER underplays the Soviets activity and responsibilities in the war. ~~(C)~~

There can be little doubt that SCHEER's position has alienated many subscribers, some financial contributors and perhaps several members of "Rampart's" staff.

With no sources to furnish this intelligence we can only speculate and read the external indicators such as the absence in the letters to the editor column of the 9/67, issue of any letter pro or con on the coverage of this topic in the prior (July) issue and the minority, pro-Israel report in the 7/67, issue by MICHAEL WALZER and MARTIN PERETZ, both on the Harvard Staff. [redacted] MASS.

b6
b7C

RECOMMENDATION USA

It appears appropriate at this time to develop the facts concerning the factional situation in the "Ramparts" organization and ~~afford it~~ widespread publicity.

Articles featuring the factional fight on "Ramparts" pro-Arab propaganda position would magnify the problem and expose the embarrassment of its staff. "Ramparts" during the past two years had been captured and transformed into a political publication. Its phenomenal growth was made possible by the coalition support of many new left and anti-establishment people. Its staff and its leaders are politically conscious and therefore, subject to dissension and deep division on difficult political questions.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SF 157-459
   100-42399
EJO:sjt

Most of the information developed regarding "Ramparts" was by past interviews of its editor, publisher and managing editor by representatives of other publications. "Ramparts" spokesmen have been very open and voluble in these past interviews as they have valued the sales promotion value of the publicity.

It is recommended that select correspondents or representatives of other publications or news services be contacted on their interest in writing a feature article and if they are interested, they could then be briefed on the character of "Ramparts" and the nature of its factional dispute.

In line with this recommendation, San Francisco requests permission to contact [redacted] who is a very capable interviewer and talented writer. [redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C

It is not known if [redacted] will be in a position to develop a special feature article in his employment with INS but upon receipt of Bureau authorization he will be contacted in this regard.

ENCLOSURE

100-445342-68

ENCLOSU

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

8/28/67

1 - Mr. McGuire

airtel

To: ST-108 SAC, New Haven (97-159)

From: Director, FBI (100-445393) - 69

REC- 24

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

There is enclosed a copy of a memorandum from the Department which is self-explanatory.

You are instructed to advise whether the mortgage deed, referred to on page eight of SA [redacted] report dated 6/16/67, shows the property was sold to "Ramparts," Ramparts Magazine, or Ramparts Magazine, Inc. You should also advise whether [redacted] identified himself as an officer of "Ramparts," Ramparts Magazine, or Ramparts Magazine, Inc., when he signed the deed. Expedite.

b6
b7C

Enclosure

1 - San Francisco (157-459)

JHK:jes jes
(5)

MAILED 19
AUG 28 1967
COMM - FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/60 BY

CD

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele Room
Holmes
Gandy

59SEP 5 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JHK

Form DJ-150
(Ed. 4-26-65)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT | DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: August 24, 1967.

FROM : J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Ramparts

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

In the report of SA [redacted] dated June 16, 1967, issued out of the Bureau's New Haven, Connecticut office, reference is made to a sale of a parcel of property to "Ramparts."

This Division is interested in ascertaining whether "Ramparts" the grantee, is the "Ramparts" magazine or an affiliate thereof, and you are requested to furnish any information available with respect to such grantee.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP1 MSK/thi
ON 7/18/80

CDB
Ryan

EX-PROC.
34 AUG 25 1967

ST-108

REC-24

100-445393-69

29 AUG 1967

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

INT. SEC.

Cirtd to SAC, NH (enc)
JHK:feo 8/28/67 1-SF

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 8/29/67

Transmit the following in ____________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ____________________
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-49254)(RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

CD

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau 8/17/67 (no copy Newark).

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of an FD 302 regarding review of records of [redacted] [redacted] of IC [redacted] Enclosed for San Francisco are ten copies of the above 302, and for Newark two copies of the above 302, along with a copy of referenced airtel and an FD 302 dated 8/15/67.

b6
b7C
b7D

Indices of the Philadelphia Office fail to reflect any reference for Sugar Low Company or Sugar Lo Company. Also, a review of the telephone directories for Philadelphia and vicinity fail to reflect a listing for this company.

[redacted]

ENCL

REC 32

100-445393-70

3 - Bureau (100-445393)(Enc. 3)(RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-459)(Enc. 10)(RM)
2 - Newark (Enc. 3)(RM)
1 - Philadelphia (100-49254)

EX-103

AUG 30 1967

CJW/lpm
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/1/80 BY

54 SEP 11 1967

Approved: ____________________ Sent ____________ M Per ____________
Special Agent in Charge

PH 100-49254

b7D

[redacted]

LEADS

NEWARK:

AT ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

Will ascertain nature of Sugar Low Company and identify its officers, if pertinent.

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/29/67

1

A review of the records of [redacted] reflects that [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

The above information should not be made public except following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum. The subpoena should be directed to [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

On 8/28/67 at Philadelphia, Pa. File # Philadelphia 100-49254

by IC [redacted] /lpm Date dictated 8/28/67

b6
b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency

100-445393-70

ENCLOSURE

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 8/31/67

Transmit the following in ___ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (97-159)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

ReBuairtel 8/28/67.

Records of the Town Clerk, Town Hall, West Hartford, Conn., were reviewed 8/30/67, by SA [redacted]

b6
b7C

Vol. 434, Land Records, reflected that on page 355 a Waranty Deed was registered 5/24/67, showing that [redacted] sold to Ramparts Magazine, Inc., a parcel of land for $400,000.

Vol. 434, page 357, reflected that a mortgage was registered 5/24/67, reflecting that Ramparts Magazine, Inc., owed [redacted] [redacted] the sum of $400,000, and that beginning 5/1/67, 300 installments of $2340. per month was to be paid to [redacted] The agreement was signed by officers of Ramparts Magazine, Inc., one of whom was [redacted] of Ramparts Magazine, Inc.

1 - Rm 932 9+D

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (157-459)(RM)
3 - New Haven
  (2 - 97-159)
  (1 - 100-19201 - [redacted]
JAD/hmg
(7)

EX-105

REC 11 100-445393-71

20 SEP 5 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

C. C. - Bishop

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent ___ M Per ___

SEP 12 1967

OPTIONAL FORM NO 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 9/7/67

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) - P

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

OO - San Francisco

Re Baltimore letter to Bureau, 8/16/67.

Enclosed for Baltimore is a Xerox copy of report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 6/16/67, in captioned matter, as requested in referenced letter.

If advice or guidance on the collection and reporting of specific categories of information in this investigation is required, San Francisco will expeditiously furnish its opinion.

1 - RM 932 S+D

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Baltimore (100-24425)(Enc. 1)(RM)
1 - San Francisco

EJO/jr
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

REC-44 100-445393-72

EX 106

15 SEP 8 1967

INT SEC.

57 SEP 15 1967

~~SECRET~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 05-25-2011

Memorandum

1-Mr. DeLoach

Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 9/4/67

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. J. A. Sizoo
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. J. H. Kleinkauf
1 - Mr. E. R. Stark

FROM : Mr. J. A. Sizoo

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

~~SECRET~~

At approximately 3:30 p.m. 9/4/67, SA [redacted] [redacted] Washington Field Office, telephonically furnished the following information to Duty Supervisor [redacted] b6 b7C

(S) [redacted] b1

SA [redacted] stated he had no additional details at present concerning this matter. The information will be confirmed in a written communication to the Bureau. b6 b7C

ACTION:

None. For information.

ERS:rwf
(7)

ERS
WR

WCS

5-Kleinkauf

100-445393

REC 29 100-445393-73

10 SEP 12 1967

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

EX 104

7/16/80

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 USK/lc~~
~~REASON-FCIM 2.4.2 2,3~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 7/4/81~~

~~SECRET~~

55 SEP 19 1967

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64) ~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

FBI

Date: 9/5/67

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 07-22-2011

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE INC.
IS - C
RA
(00:SF)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM containing information furnished by [redacted] on 9/4/67. (S)

Enclosed LHM is classified "~~Secret~~-No Foreign Dissemination" in order to further protect the identity of this sensitive source.

WFO cognizant.

b1

11-1-80

ENCLOSURE

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

3-Bureau (ENCS. 8)(RM)
2-San Francisco (157-459)(ENCS. 2)(RM)
2-Washington Field (ENCS. 2)(RM)
1-New York (100-60713)
1-New York

EX 104

REC-23

TDJ:eeb
(11) AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER. [redacted]
RAO (ICJ, ~~SRD, ISD~~), State
DATE FORW. 9-13-67
HOW FORW. RIS
BY:

b3
b7E

100-445393-94

14 SEP 6 1967

C.C. to Bishop

c.c. & encl.

7/18/80

~~CLASS~~
~~REASON-FC~~ 4/2
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 9/5/81

INT. SEC.

Approved: ~~SECRET~~ Special Agent in Charge Sent M Per

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-10-2011

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
September 5, 1967

~~SECRET~~ - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

Ramparts Magazine Incorporated

On September 4, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the journalists of Ramparts Magazine would hold a press conference at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D.C. and that the conference would have international implications. This source did not furnish date of the press conference. ~~S~~

(U) Ramparts Magazine is a Lay Catholic magazine with offices in San Francisco, California.

~~class 11-1-80 RB~~

~~7/18/80 -- SP1 YSK/bl~~
~~CLASS. 2 3~~
~~REASON-FCIM 2 4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 9/5/87~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINA~~
~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.~~

100-445393-74

ENCLOSURE

~~SEC~~

1 - Mr. [illegible]ch
1 - Mr. B[illegible]aop

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 18, 1967

FROM : W. R. Wannall

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Solomon

SUBJECT: [redacted]

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REGISTRATION ACT - ANGUILLA

Department has requested us to initiate Registration Act investigation regarding subjects who placed advertisement in "The New York Times" of 8/14/67 soliciting financial contributions to the independence movement of the Caribbean island of Anguilla. Our files show [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] notorious San Francisco-based magazine "Ramparts." Attached for your approval is letter to field initiating investigation.

"The New York Times" of 8/14/67 carried full-page advertisement captioned "Anguilla White Paper" which made a plea for funds to support the independence movement of Anguilla. Anguilla is small impoverished Caribbean island, a former British colony, which declared its independence from its "associatedstate" status with Britain in late May, 1967, and has withstood considerable pressure aimed at returning it to its former status. Accompanying article in same issue of "Times" states advertisement was placed by above subjects all of San Francisco, California. Feigen is identified as a surgeon, Gossage as an advertising executive, and Newhall as editor of the "San Francisco Chronicle."

Department has advised that above raises question as to whether subjects acted on behalf of a foreign principal in soliciting money in the U. S. and has requested us to initiate appropriate investigation.

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Our files show that [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] were as of June, 1967, [redacted] "Ramparts" magazine. Ramparts is the highly controversial San Francisco-based publication which gained wide notoriety

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY [illegible]

445393

NOT RECORDED
167 SEP 21 1967

AHS:emp
(8)

1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts" magazine)
1 - 109-12-418 (Foreign Political Matters - Anguilla)

SEP 2 - 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: [redacted]

b6
b7C

97-5136

in early 1967 for exposing [redacted] long-term financial involvement in and direction of the National Students Association. Magazine has published numerous articles attacking the Bureau. No adverse information of substance appears in our files regarding [redacted]

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Our investigation in this matter will in no way concern "Ramparts" magazine. It is imperative that investigation be conducted in a manner to preclude any possible embarrassment to Bureau. Specific instructions to the field are set forth in this regard in attached letter.

ACTION:

If you approve the attached letter will be sent to our San Francisco and San Juan Offices initiating investigation in compliance with the Department's request.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 9/19/67

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300)(RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
(OO: San Francisco)

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau, 8/17/67.

Efforts to identify [redacted] were unproductive [redacted] On 9/13/67, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SA ANTHONY E. CONSTANTINO that in order to possibly identify [redacted] the following procedure was recommended by [redacted]

(1) [redacted]

b6
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b7D

②- Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-459)(RM)
1 - New York

REC- 58

100-445393-175

WHB:rmp
(5)

EX 107

16 SEP 21 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

29 1967 *Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan*

b7D

(2) [redacted]

[redacted]

Concerning [redacted] [redacted] banks, no action will be taken by the New York Office concerning [redacted] because the same information would be needed as that requested by [redacted]

It is suggested that in order to enhance obtaining the type of information requested by San Francisco [redacted] that San Francisco consider developing a source [redacted] b7D

A review of New York files reflected no new information on the relationship of Lincoln Web Offset Company and its officers with RM.

A review of New York files reflected no information to indicate that [redacted] was the source for material for RM article on "Children of Vietnam", or was the source for funds donated through [redacted] b6 b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

SAC, San Francisco (100-42399) 9/19/67

Director, FBI (100-3-104-47)

1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Kleinkauf
1 - Mr. Ryan

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
("RAMPARTS")

b6
b7C

ReSFlet 8/24/67 containing the dual caption "Ramparts Magazine, Inc., IS-C," and "CP, USA-Counterintelligence Program, IS-C," wherein it is recommended [redacted] be confidentially contacted in an effort to develop through him a newspaper article discrediting "Ramparts."

Bureau files contain nothing derogatory relating to [redacted] There is no indication he has ever been utilized by this Bureau for counterintelligence action in the past, that he is an established source or contact of your office, or that your experience with him is such that you could rely upon him to protect the Bureau's interest in a sensitive matter of the nature recommended. Although [redacted] was a cooperative and effective witness [redacted] and at that time your office had had no prior contact with him.

Before the Bureau can give further consideration to your use of [redacted] it will be necessary for you to furnish additional assurance of his reliability and discretion.

1 - San Francisco (157-459)
1 - Bufile 100-445393 ("Ramparts")
DR:scr (8)

NOTE: "Ramparts" magazine is notorious as the left-wing publication which exposed CIA's involvement with the NSA. San Francisco Office has recommended a technique whereby "Ramparts" criticism of Israel in the Middle East conflict might be utilized by an effective newsman to prepare an article discrediting the publication. Our knowledge of [redacted] is limited and he should not be utilized for the recommended technique without further assurance from San Francisco as to his reliability and discretion.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN ... DATE 7/18/80 BY~~

YELLOW

NOT RECORDED
172 SEP 19 1967

EP26 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN

San Francisco is also referred to its files for information regarding alleged prior subversive connections of [redacted]

The attention of San Francisco is further directed to its airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 5/26/67 captioned "'Lights for Peace,' Information Concerning (Internal Security)," San Francisco file 100-58903, which set forth information regarding anti-Vietnam advertisement appearing in "The New York Times" in late 5/67 which advertisement was reportedly prepared by [redacted] [redacted]

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b7C

[redacted] appears to be the same individual [redacted] the "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper. San Francisco refer to your file 151-210 regarding '[redacted] aka, Peace Corps," regarding him. No additional pertinent information concerning [redacted] was located in Bufiles.

b3
b7E

(151-803)

San Juan is referred to the above-identified "New York Times" article of 8/28/67 and to information therein concerning difficulties encountered by instant group in attempting to set up bank accounts in the Virgin Islands as a repository for funds collected. Through established sources only, you are to conduct appropriate discreet inquiry in banking circles in your territory in an effort to obtain full facts regarding this matter. San Juan is also referred to the enclosed "New York Times" full page advertisement of 8/11/67. The last paragraph in column three thereof mentions "Anguilla Liberty Dollars." Refer to Department of State outgoing telegram to the American Embassy, London, (State #20409) dated 8/14/67, a copy of which was forwarded to you by Bureau O-7 8/16/67. That message refers to [redacted] Anguillian independence movement and his alleged involvement in making available over-stamped Mexican coins for Anguillian use.

(109-12-324, 8/14/67)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
(re "Ramparts"
1 - magazine
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Solomon

b6
b7C

SAC, San Francisco

9/19/67

Director, FBI (97-5136)

[redacted]

b6
b7C

REGISTRATION ACT - ANGUILLA

Enclosed for San Francisco and San Juan are single copies of a letter of Assistant Attorney General Yeagley captioned as above dated 8/31/67 and of two clippings from "The New York Times" newspaper of 8/14/67 which were enclosed with Mr. Yeagley's letter.

Also enclosed for each addressee are single copies of the following additional items which have appeared in "The New York Times" and are pertinent:

Article on page three, issue of 8/18/67, captioned "Anguillan Leader Seeks Visitors and Hotels"

Article on page two, issue of 8/28/67, entitled "Americans Decide to Press Plan for Anguilla Despite Opposition."

Regarding [redacted] and [redacted] San Francisco is referred to its file 157-459 captioned "Ramparts Magazine, Inc., IS - C, RA," and in particular to the report of SA Edward J. O'Flynn dated 6/16/67 at San Francisco. [redacted] appears to be identical with [redacted] [redacted] is indicated to be identical with [redacted] [redacted] Both [redacted] and [redacted] as of 6/67 were reported to be [redacted] [redacted] "Ramparts" magazine, the highly controversial San Francisco-based publication.

b6
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(100-445393-53)

Enclosures - 5

100 445393

NOT RECORDED
167 SEP 21 1967

2 - San Juan (Enclosures - 5)

1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts" magazine)
1 - 109-12-418 (Foreign Political Matter ~~- Anguilla~~)

AHS:brr
(10)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/18/80 BY~~

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

55 SEP 26 1967

b6
b7C

Investigation into this matter is to be initiated in conformance with Mr. Yeagley's request. It is imperative that our investigation be handled with discretion and caution to avoid possible embarrassment to the Bureau. No interviews are to be conducted with any of the subjects without specific prior Bureau authority. In contacts and inquiries made in this matter, you are to make clear the fact that the investigation is being conducted at the specific request of Assistant Attorney General Yeagley.

Instant investigation is not concerned in any way with "Ramparts" magazine. It must be conducted in such a manner that no one will gain that impression.

Institute investigation promptly and submit results in report form.

NOTE:

See memorandum Mr. W. R. Wannall to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, captioned as above dated 9/15/67, prepared by ARS:emp.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 9/19/67

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46885) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
Registration Act
(OO:SF)

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau dated 8/17/67 and New York airtel to the Bureau dated 9/5/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau and San Francisco is one xerox copy each of an article which appeared in the 9/6/67 edition of "The Washington Post" pertaining to caption publication.

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The indices of WFO reveal a number of references to [redacted] in addition to several applicant type Special Inquiry investigations dating back to August, 1948. These investigations were conducted in conjunction with [redacted] many high level positions and appointments with the United States Government. There is, however, no specific subversive information regarding [redacted] contained in WFO files.

③ - Bureau (Encl. 1)
2 - San Francisco (Encl. 1) (157-459) (RM)
1 - WFO

ECR:dab
(6)

REC-36

ENCLOSURE

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN ... DATE 7/14/10 BY~~

100-445393-76

21 SEP ~~20~~ 1967

INT. SEC.

57 SEP 2 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

THE WASHINGTON POST Wednesday, Sept. 6, 1967 A 23

2 Forced to Frame Papandreou, They Say in Magazine Story

Ramparts magazine yesterday offered the testimony of two Greeks who say they were forced to give perjured testimony against Andreas Papandreou, now in jail on a treason charge.

The men, due to appear at a press conference at the Statler-Hilton Hotel today, are Andreas Vachliotis, a lawyer, and Kyriakos Diakogiannis a journalist

A Ramparts article in the October issue by Stanley K Sheinbaum states that the ruling junta in Athens had been counting on evidence from the two men to make their case against Papandreou The jailed Papandreou, son of a former Premier, is a former American citizen and well known economist who returned to Greece to join his father's government.

Vachliotis states that it was one of a number of memoranda which he wrote at Papandreou's request which was the "pretext" for putting the economist in jail. The memorandum, he writes, said that to protect himself and establish his father's government firmly in control, Papandreou should "undertake the creation of an organization to control the mechanism of the Greek state both inside and outside the country,' to preempt control from agents of the fascist leaning militia and secret police '

No Suggestion of Violence

Vachliotis states that there "was not the faintest suggestion' that "the replacement of key officials should be accompanied by violence or imprisonment" as the Greek KYP which he describes as the local version of the CIA, and the junta "were later to allege '

A KYP agent, writes Vachliotis, threatened him with imprisonment. As a result, he says, he signed a document alleging that Papandreou was about to organize a coup by a group of young officers and was planning to remove the King and to take Greece out of NATO.

Vachliotis now writes that he was "trapped" by KYP into giving perjured testimony He says that in August he escaped from Greece and that his wife and son flew out in a chartered plane four days later

Diakogiannis, editor of a Greek emigre paper in Paris, corroborates the story. Both of them, he says, were told in 1966 by then Premier Stefanopoulos to give a formal statement before a judge He also states that he was led to add in that statement that Papandreou had told Vachliotis that Papandreou had 'advocated' the use of violent means to eliminate his opposition '

Diakogiannis now denies that he was ever told "anything of the sort." He says he escaped from Athens on July 10 'determined now to do all in my power to right the wrongs done to Andreas Papandreou as a result of my unwilling testimony, extracted under pressure by the Greek secret police "

State Department officials yesterday would not comment on the article other than to say that the two men had clean records and, therefore had been entitled to visas for admittance to the United States

King Constantine of Greece who has been under attack for his acceptance of the coup last April, is due in Washington next Monday for talks with President Johnson.

100-445393-76

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

ENCLOSURE

100-44343-78

ENCLOSURE

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] C/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 10/10/67

Transmit the following in ____________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (97-159)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re San Francisco airtel 8/17/67.

[redacted] (protect), [redacted] [redacted] advised 9/27/67, that [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (RM)
3 - New Haven
(1 - 100-19201 - [redacted]

JAD/hmg
(8)

C. C. - Bishop

cc 9/12

REC-64 100-445393-81

109

8 OCT 12 1967

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN ... DATE 2/18/80 BY~~

INT. SEC.

Approved: ____________________ Sent __________ M Per __________
Special Agent in Charge

60 OCT 24 1967

[redacted] requested that the above information not be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted] [redacted] and that his name be concealed.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

New Haven was unable to locate any further information on Mankauf Realty Co., than that already reported.

[redacted]

There is no known information to reflect that Ramparts Magazine, Inc., is to move to West Hartford, Conn. [redacted] [redacted]

Observation of the property by SA [redacted] reflects that [redacted] is going on as usual, with no sign of any change to take place.

New Haven will continue to review [redacted] [redacted]

New Haven will also attempt to determine if Ramparts Magazine, Inc., will move to West Hartford, Conn., and the date that the move can be expected if such is the case.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-10-2011

b6
b7C

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 10/18/67

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24425) RUC

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
OO: SF

McIlvaine

Re Baltimore letter to Director, 8/23/67.

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

(U)

In view of above, no further action being taken by this office.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE
11-1-80

② - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - San Francisco (157-459) (Info) (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Baltimore
PDE:na/cl
(4)

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~ 7/18/80 Sp1 MSH/hue
~~REASON-FCIM~~ 4.2 2
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~ 10/18/87

100-445393-80

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

18 OCT 23 1967

INF. SEC.

Kleindienst

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

164

6 OCT 30 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

FD-36 (Rev 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 10/31/67

Transmit the following in ______
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
OO: SF

Re New Haven airtel to Director 10/10/67.

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

1 CC 932 94D

REC-4 100-445393-83

3 - Bureau (RM)
3 - New Haven (97-159)(RAMPARTS)(RM)
(100-19201) [redacted]
2 - San Francisco
EJO/dp
(8)

EX-

22 NOV 2 1967

53 NOV 13 1967

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HERE...~~
~~DATE 7/18/10 BY~~

C. Bishop

INT. SEC.

Approved: ______ Sent ______ M Per ______
Special Agent in Charge

LEAD

NEW HAVEN

AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT: Continue to monitor [redacted]

b6
b7C

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 11/3/67

Transmit the following in ______________________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
OO: SF

One of the principal purposes in this investigation is to determine the source of extraneous funds which cover the deficit in the operation of this publication.

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

LEAD

BOSTON

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN~~
~~DATE 7/18/80 BY~~

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS: Make discreet inquiry through [redacted] to determine [redacted]

[redacted]

100 445393 84

100-432-74D

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Boston (RM)(100-37684)
2 - San Francisco
EJO/dp

C. C. ~~Bishop~~

REC 51

3 NOV 7 1967

59NOV 14 1967

Approved: ______________________ Sent __________ M Per ______________
Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 11/3/67

Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Transmit the following in
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) 5 C D [illegible]

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
OO: SF

Re New York letter to Director 9/19/67 and San Francisco airtel 8/17/67.

The purpose of this investigation as set out in referenced San Francisco airtel is to determine the source of extraneous funds which cover the deficit in the operation of this publication. This is essential to a Registration Act investigation.

Referenced San Francisco airtel requested

[redacted]

b7D

1 CC 937 9-D
③ - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (157-1300)(RM)
2 - San Francisco
EJO/dp
(7)
C. C. - Bishop

A 101
REC- 60
100 445393 85

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~DATE 7/18/80 BY~~

3 NOV 7 1967

Approved: CWB/[illegible] Sent M Per
Special Agent in Charge

59NOV 1 3 1967

SF 157-459
EJO/dp

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK: Cover leads set out in San Francisco airtel 8/17/67 and identify [redacted] reported above.

SF 157-459
EJO/dp

San Francisco has noted that the Manhattan Telephone Directory contains a listing for [redacted]

In the event that New York identifies [redacted] it may be assumed that [redacted] and no further investigation is warranted.

Referenced San Francisco airtel also set out a lead for New York to verify and further identify [redacted]

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[redacted]

It is believed that sufficient identifying data has been furnished to identify the source of these funds as the New York Office has previously identified and reported on some of these accounts.

The following recent information was received from [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-10-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

CAL-AGENCY
Realtors
MAIN AND 10TH P. O. BOX 827 RAMONA, CALIFORNIA
PHONE STERLING 9-0202

1 November
1 9 6 7

Publishers, Ramparts Magazine
301 Broadway
San Francisco, California 94133

Sirs:

When I received your pitch for a subscription to RAMPARTS, illustrated with an American Eagle blindfolded by the American Flag, I was at first inclined to mutter: "You bastards!" and throw it in the wastebasket. But I resisted the urge and, having looked over the enclosure, I decided to write a more detailed commentary:

When you equate the American Flag with "...a blinfold woven of the veils of prejudice, ignorance and indifference that alienate man from man", you identify yourselves with that infamous Establishment of traitorous renegades that has been responsible for the breakdown of our customs, traditions and laws; the corruption of our Youth; the vulgarization of our Religion and all the other nihilistic assaults on our National Integrity.

..."RAMPARTS takes no doctrinaire position. It points out alternatives."

What an affectation! In what particular does your position on "racism", for instance, differ from that embodied in the official program of the Politburo or in Mao's Little Red Book?!

What chances would an American have of getting a hearing on your pages if he wanted to elaborate on the statement: " I resent having dinned at me the accusation that I am a "racist" because I proudly cherish and defend the Spiritual, Racial and National characteristics that identify me as a member of the Community of Western Man." ?!

"RAMPARTS ...exposes hypocrisy."

Really?! But what a chance you missed when Robert Kennedy "stunned" his hosts - the South Africans - by presenting them with the dreadful possibility that perhaps "God is Black"! What a coup it would have been if you tested the strength of his convictions by encouraging him to go on to Israel and - noting their brand of Apartheid with the Arabs - confront them with the equally stunning possibility! "What if God is a Moslem!" - or even more appalling: ".. a Genti

REC 51 100-445393-86

And speaking of Israel, what chance would I have of challenging - on the pages of your "fiercely independent" magazine - one [illegible] the "Civil Rights" rabbis to logically and morally defend and justify the absolute right to his "Jewishness" while at the same time undermining the integrity of my Community!

NOV 17 1967

And what a proof it would be of your boast that "RAMPARTS is dedicated to breaking down those walls ... that tend to separate men." if you pressed the same rabbi to commit himself as to how much of his "Jewishness" he would give up to realize that glorious ecumenical slogan: "One World! One Race! One Religion!".

Copy - no ack nec

pvg-8

CORRESPONDENCE

57 NOV 14 1967

CAL-AGENCY
Realtors
MAIN AND 10TH P. O. BOX 827 RAMONA, CALIFORNIA
PHONE STERLING 9-0202

RAMPARTS (continued)

I could go on and on detailing your "no doctrinaire position" - and your hypocrisy - with regard to all your other pet themes - "Poverty", "Nuclear War", "Peace", "Vietnam", etc.

But instead I will sum up with the observation that you and your Soul Mates can "ride" the American People just so long. Eventually, - I prophesy - you will trigger-off a reaction of National Indignation that will sweep you all off the American Landscape and into that Proletarian Paradise whose proudest achievement and everlasting symbol is "The Berlin Wall"! - And whose Fire Red and Sulphur Yellow banner is the actual material from which you have fashioned the American Eagle's blindfold!

Until then, I remain

[redacted]

b6
b7C

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-11-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, San Francisco REC-130 12/4/67

Director, FBI (100-445393) - 67 1 - Mr. R.H. Horner

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C

Reurlet 11/9/67 and Bulet 11/6/67.

[redacted]

[redacted] Referral/Consult

[redacted]

Your letter also requested authority to broaden the area of the investigation which heretofore was restricted to financial aspects of the magazine.

Your attention is directed to reBulet which specifically instructed you to intensify your investigation, particularly with regard to subversive ramifications of the magazine and individuals associated with it. At that time, you were also instructed to point your investigation toward any foreign inspiration that might be behind this publication.

These instructions appear to be sufficient for your continued investigation in this matter.

DEC 4 1967
COMM-FBI

RHH:jes
(4)

~~UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

NOTE:

SF has requested authority to broaden the investigation in this matter. This authority was furnished in a previous communication to SF. That office has requested material which is in Bufiles which has been reviewed and is not necessary to its continued investigation in this matter.

~~CLASS.~~
~~REASON-~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/87~~

DEC 7 1967

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-11-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 11/9/67

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 11-1-[illegible]
RB

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Re Bulet to San Francisco, 11/6/67.

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

San Francisco investigation of Ramparts has been limited to [redacted] as authorized by the Bureau and the utilization of public source material. Bureau authority to broaden the area of investigation is requested.

b7D

1/18/80
~~CLASS.~~
~~REASON-FC~~ ~~3 4.2~~ ~~2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 11/9/87~~
SP1 MSK/kic

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco

EJO/jr
(3)

REC-75

100-445393-87

EX 109

9 NOV 13 1967

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~
~~OTHERWISE~~

INT. SEC.

12/4/67

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: November 21, 1967

FROM : J. H. Gale

SUBJECT: [redacted]

SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT

b6
b7C

The captioned individuals, all associated with the staff of Ramparts magazine, allegedly burned their draft cards. The December issue* of Ramparts will have on its cover a photograph of the draft cards being burned. The magazine in the past has printed several articles extremely critical of the Bureau and has been willing to exploit any situation to print biased untruthful articles.
*copy attached

The Department of Justice requested investigation be conducted including interviews of the four editors of the magazine. The San Francisco Division has strongly recommended against interviews of these individuals, which interviews they feel would be exploited and utilized in future issues of Ramparts in a slanted manner which would undoubtedly be embarrassing to the Bureau and its operations. The San Francisco Division feels nothing would be gained from interviews with these individuals and the editors would be unlikely to face prosecution by the Department, regardless of results of interview.

The United States Attorney's Office, San Francisco, was presented with the facts concerning Selective Service registration and classification cards surrendered at an antidraft rally in San Francisco. Our San Francisco Division was advised that as a matter of policy prosecution would be declined for violation of the failure to possess draft card section of the Selective Service Act. The United States Attorney's Office in San Francisco has been extremely reluctant to prosecute violations of the Selective Service Act in the past and the policy statement given by that office was on November 15, 1967. There is no indication there will be any change in their policy in the immediate future.

Enc. [illegible] 11-28-67

100-445393-

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Eddy
1 - Mr. Moore
MHM:tdm (7)

NOT RECORDED
199 NOV 29 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/28/80 BY

CONTINUED — OVER

70 DEC 4 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach
Re: [redacted]

b6
b7C

ACTION:

There is attached, for approval, amemorandum to the Department of Justice suggesting that a decision be made as to whether there will be any prosecutive action concerning the burning of Selective Service cards on the part of the four editors of Ramparts magazine. If prosecution is contemplated, the facts developed could be presented to Federal Grand Jury seeking indictments without prior interviews.

O.K.
H

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 11/9/67

Transmit the following in ____________ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED (Priority)

wcsm

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

RE: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

OO - San Francisco

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 8/17/67, which set out lead for Philadelphia to [redacted]

b7D

An important part of this investigation is to identify [redacted]

A review of [redacted] reflect [redacted]

100 932 9ND

3 - Bureau (AM-RM)
2 - Philadelphia (AM-RM)
1 - San Francisco

EJO/jr
(6)

C.A. Bishop

REC-32

445393

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

NOV 10 19

Special Agent in Charge

- Mr. R. Horner

November 15, 1967

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED

b6
b7C

A review of Volume 434, page 355, Land Records, Town Clerk's Office, Town Hall, West Hartford, Connecticut, revealed that [redacted] sold Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, a parcel of land for the sum of $400,000. Page 357 of this same volume shows that a mortgage was registered on May 24, 1967. In this mortgage, Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, assumed obligation for $400,000 to [redacted] and agreed to commence payments beginning May 1, 1967, for 300 installments, each for $2,340, to be paid by [redacted] The agreement was signed by [redacted] who identified himself as [redacted]

Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, is the subject of a pending Bureau investigation to determine whether it is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

RHH:jav
(4)

To.
J. Walter Yeagley, AAG
Int Security Div.
Dept. of Justice

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY [illegible]

CD
10[illegible]-44[illegible]93

REC-12

NOV 17 1967

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NOV 24 1967 MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

file 100-445[illegible]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-11-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF b6 b7C

Director [illegible] Crime Record 10/31/67

SAC, Cin (62-0)

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
1255 Portland Place
Boulder, Colorado [illegible]
MISCELLANEOUS -
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Enclosed is an advertisement which came in the mail to SA LINCOLN J. STOKES of this office. This advertisement deals with a book called "In the Shadows of Dallas." This book would be sent with every subscription to a new magazine called "RAMPARTS." The advertisement states as follows:

> "The Case for Jim Garrison by WILLIAM W. TURNER. An ex-FBI man who has spent two years investigating the Kennedy assassination analyzes the astonishing facts of New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison's counter-theory to the Warren Commission. TURNER also explains why large television networds - and the FBI and CIA - are so set on discrediting Garrison. Essenti reading for those interested in the assa and the situation in New Orleans."

The Bureau is probably a just in case this has not come to the Cincinnati is furnishing same.

2 - Bureau (Enclosure)
1 - Cincinnati

HJM:LM
(3)

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 11/21/67

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-49658) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re Philadelphia airtel to Bureau 8/29/67.

S. L. C. DISTRIBUTORS, INC.
SUGAR-LO COMPANY
ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

The 1966 city directory for Atlantic City, N.J., reveals that Sugar-Lo Company, Dietetic Ice Cream, 2001 Bacharach Blvd., [redacted]

On 10/26/67, [redacted] Credit Rating Service, Inc., 1616 Pacific Ave., Atlantic City, N.J., made available to SA [redacted] the following credit information:

b6
b7C

S. L. C. Distributors, Inc., doing business as Sugar-Lo Company, Inc., 2001 Bacharach Blvd., Atlantic City, N.J., was incorporated under New Jersey law on 12/31/64. This company was capitalized for 2,000 no par shares with three shares paid in for the purpose of doing business as a commission merchants, etc. Incorporators are:

ALAN KLIGERMAN
[redacted]

SIGMUND RIMM
[redacted]

44/100-445393-91

NOV 22 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

2-Bureau (RM)
2-San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
2-Newark
TGB:jes
(6)

62 NOV 28 1967

Buy U S Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

MAE LE VAN
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

B. APPROX [redacted]

A credit report dated 11/1/60, on [redacted] [redacted] and wife, [redacted] nee [redacted] [redacted] shows him as age [redacted] white, and married with wife dependant. [redacted] had been at the above mentioned address since 1955 and prior to this at [redacted] [redacted] Prior to this, [redacted] [redacted] resided with her parents, [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] self-employed doing [redacted] [redacted] Prior to this, he was employed [redacted] [redacted]

This report reveals that [redacted] [redacted] bear a satisfactory personal reputation and nothing detrimental was learned concerning their character or habits.

A credit report on [redacted] [redacted] dated 7/11/63, shows him as [redacted] [redacted] self-employed doing business as [redacted] A notation on this report dated 1/25/66, shows him to be residing at [redacted] [redacted]

Files of the Credit Rating Service, Inc., Atlantic City, N.J., also revealed that [redacted] [redacted]

[illegible]
[illegible]

b6
b7C

[redacted] all using the address of [redacted]

The 1966 city directory for Atlantic City reveals that [redacted] reside at [redacted] His occupation is given [redacted] This directory also shows that [redacted] reside at [redacted] His occupation is given as [redacted]

b6
b7C

Files of the Newark Office contained no subversive references to [redacted] or [redacted]

On 11/2/67, while interviewing [redacted] concerning the current racial situation in Atlantic City, casual inquiry was made of him by SA [redacted] concerning the nature of "Ramparts Magazine", a copy of which was openly on display in his office. [redacted] remarked that he is a subscriber of "Ramparts", which he referred to as a "liberal-critical type publication" commenting that he is very much in sympathy with its views. He said that the magazine carries some commercial advertisements, but in the main gets its financial support strictly from its subscription rate. He added that "Ramparts" is directed toward the urban intelligentsia and consequently he has never placed any commercial advertisements in the magazine. [redacted] made no effort to volunteer information concerning the transfer of funds by his company to "Ramparts" and no leading questions were asked of him in this regards.

[redacted] made available a copy of an open letter captioned "Stop the war, Mr. President" which contains signatures of over 300 business executives who oppose the war in Vietnam. The name [redacted]

[redacted] appears on this open letter.

b6
b7C

Up until about 1964, [redacted] was struggling to make a living [redacted] [redacted] has apparently developed it into a very successful company, financially; however, it is not hardly possible for [redacted] to presently be in a financial position to be able to personally contribute the sum of $47,500 to "Ramparts" since August, 1966.

LEADS

NEWARK

At Atlantic City, New Jersey. Will, through [redacted] [redacted] review [redacted] [redacted] to determine if [redacted] [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTENTION: RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

DATE: 12/1/67

FROM : SAC, DENVER (100-4775)

SUBJECT: PUBLICATIONS - HANDLING OF
BY RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION
RESEARCH SATELLITE MATTER

ReBulet 2/2/67.

Enclosed is the December, 1967, issue of Ramparts magazine.

2-Bureau (Encl-1) (RM) / Encl. routed + filed in Pubs-Files, IB. 12-7-67 AmB
1-Denver
JHM:hg
(3)

ENCLOSURE

REC 16 100-445393-93

DEC 8 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/18/80 BY

RESEARCH-SATELLITE

55 DEC 14 1967

F57

100-445393

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-01

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI

Date: 12/5/67

Transmit the following in _(Type in plaintext or code)_

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED _(Priority)_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) - P

RE: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Captioned publication has engaged in political muckraking derogatory to U. S. foreign policy and has published sensationalized exposes of [redacted] intelligence programs. It has been operating at a deficit in excess of a million dollars and discreet investigation is being conducted under the Foreign Agents Registration Act to determine the primary sources of these extraneous funds.

b3
b7E

The records of the [redacted] [redacted] reflect [redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

100 932
③ - Bureau (AM-RM)
2 - New York (157-1300)(AM-RM)
1 - San Francisco

REC 16 100-445393-94

C. C. - Bishop

EJO/jr
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/18/80 BY

DEC 8 1967

Approved: Special Agent in Charge Sent M Per

35 DEC 14 1967

SF 157-459
EJO/jr

LEAD:

NEW YORK OFFICE

At New York, New York

Conduct discreet inquiry [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Ascertain if [redacted]

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI

Date: 12/5/67

Transmit the following in ________________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) - P

RE: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

5 - Klaffgrand

Captioned publication has engaged in political muckraking derogatory to U. S. foreign policy and has published sensationalized exposes of [redacted] intelligence programs. It has been operating at a deficit in excess of a million dollars and discreet investigation is being conducted under the Foreign Agents Registration Act to determine the primary sources of these extraneous funds.

b3
b7E

[redacted]

b7D

LEAD:

BOSTON OFFICE

At Boston, Massachusetts

Conduct discreet inquiry [redacted]

b7D

100 932 - 940

3 - Bureau (AM-RM)
2 - Boston (AM-RM)
1 - San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/18/80 BY

REC 54 445393-95

EJO/jr
(6)

C. C. - Bishop

9 DEC 8 1967

104

54 DEC 12 1967

Approved: ________________ Sent ______________ M Per ________________
Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

F B I

Date: 12/5/67

Transmit the following in ______________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) - P

RE: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Captioned publication has engaged in political muckraking derogatory to U. S. foreign policy and has published sensationalized exposes of [redacted] intelligence programs. It has been operating at a deficit in excess of one million dollars and discreet investigation is being conducted under the Foreign Agents Registration Act to determine the primary sources of these extraneous funds.

b3
b7E

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

③ - Bureau (AM-RM)
2 - Los Angeles (AM-RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO/jr
(6)

EX-113
REC 16
100-445393-96

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/1/80 BY

DEC 8 1967

C. C. - Bishop

Approved: F57
Special Agent in Charge

Sent ______ M Per ______

55DEC 14 1967

LEAD:

LOS ANGELES OFFICE

At Santa Barbara, California

Conduct discreet inquiry [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

At Los Angeles, California

Determine [redacted]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 12/11/67

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-37684)(RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
(OO: San Francisco)

REC-1

EX-108

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau 11/3/67.

On 11/30/67, [redacted], a confidential source - protect identity, advised [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

On 11/30/67 [redacted] (protect) advised that [redacted]

100-445393-97

REC 49

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-459)(RM)
1 - New Haven [redacted] (RM)
1 - Boston
JFN:maf

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

DEC 14 1967

INT. SEC.

62 DEC 28 1967

None of the information furnished by [redacted] can be made available except on the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

b6
b7C
b7D

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 12/12/67

Transmit the following in ______________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ______________________
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
(OO: SF)

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 11/3/67 and New York letters to Bureau, 7/27/67 and 9/19/67.

On 11/16/67, [redacted] (conceal per request), [redacted] [redacted] advised SA [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

3-Bureau (RM)
2-San Francisco (157-459)(RM)
1-New York

REC 29 100-445393-98

WHB:tmm
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

DEC 13 1967

INT. SEC.

Approved: ______________ Sent ________ M Per ________
Special Agent in Charge

57 DEC 19 1967

On 11/14/67, [redacted] (conceal), [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

A review of New York files contained no information identifiable with [redacted]

In view of the above investigation at [redacted] no further inquiry is being made by the NYO concerning the above check..

On 11/20/67, [redacted] (conceal per request), [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that [redacted] He stated a search was made for a [redacted] with negative results [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

In view of the above, no further inquiry is being made concerning [redacted] and it is being left to the discretion of the San Francisco Office to pursue this matter further.

On 12/8/67, [redacted] (conceal per request), [redacted] advised SA [redacted]

[redacted]

The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

A review of New York files reflects no pertinent information identifiable with [redacted] Inasmuch as [redacted] it is assumed that [redacted] and no further investigation is being conducted.

On 11/16/67, [redacted] (conceal per request), [redacted] furnished the following information to SA [redacted]

[redacted]

A review of New York files contains no identifiable information concerning [redacted]

It is noted that investigation concerning Lincoln Web Offset Co. was set forth in New York letter to the Bureau dated 7/27/67.

[redacted]

The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]

[redacted]

A review of New York files contains no subversive information identifiable with [redacted]

On 11/16/67, [redacted] (conceal per request), [redacted]

[redacted]

The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] also known as [redacted]

b6
b7C

(It is noted that information concerning [redacted] [redacted] was furnished to the San Francisco Office in New York letter to the Bureau dated 7/27/67.)

The December 1, 1967 issue of "Time", the national weekly magazine, on page 38, contained an article entitled "Ramparts Dropout" which further identifies ANNE PERETZ. The article stated in part as follows:

"Not all of the old hands are joining in 'Ramparts' salutes these days. Conspicuously absent is Principal Stockholder and onetime Publisher Edward Keating, who was discovered 'plotting' against the magazine last spring, as his detractors put it. The latest dropout is another major stockholder, Martin Peretz, a Harvard lecturer in government who has contributed substantially to the magazine as well as to other New Left causes. He is also married to Anne Farnsworth, a Singer Sewing Machine heiress.

"What bothers Peretz, he says, in 'Commentary' magazine is 'Rampart's' anti-Jewish attitude toward the Arab-Israeli war. Editor Hinckle, says Peretz, likes to be 'flippy' --- that is, perverse in a flip, hippie sort of way. This translates into articles like the one Peretz calls 'the most carefully selective and skewed history of the conflict to come from any source save possibly the propaganda machines of the respective parties.' The article 'occasionally takes note of Nasser's calculating politics,' says Peretz, but 'settles the burden of the tragic events squarely on Israel.' All of this fits what Peretz says has become the New Left's Middle East dogma: that Israel and Israel alone must bear the blame for the responsibility for the future. Not, it should be clear, only for the plight of the Arab refugees, but for the behavior of the Arab regimes as well, and even (how powerful little Israel must have become!) for the policy of the Soviet Union, its sycophants (at least when Jews are in question), and virtually the entire Third World.'"

Concerning [redacted] noted that referenced New York letter to the Bureau, 7/27/67, set forth identifying information concerning [redacted] [redacted] and "VICTOR RABINOWITZ."

b6
b7C
b7D

1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith

12-1[illegible]-67

1 - Mr. R. S. Garner
1 - Miss Butler
1 - Publications Subscriptions Control Folder

[illegible]

SAC, Denver ([illegible])

Director, FBI ([illegible]8762)

PUBLICATIONS - HANDLING OF BY RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION

The Bureau is desirous of obtaining a copy of the book "In the Shadow of Dallas: A Primer on the Assassination of President Kennedy" published by the editors of Ramparts Magazine. Informants advise book is available only as a bonus with a one-year subscription to "Ramparts."

Enclosed is a copy of a brochure from Ramparts publishers which indicates two bonus books will be presented to a subscriber to "Ramparts" for a one-year subscription at [illegible]. The above book and a book entitled "A Vietnam Primer" also published by the editors of Ramparts Magazine are mentioned.

You are authorized to obtain a copy of each of the above books -- whether by renewal of the current subscription or by institution of a new subscription. Since the Bureau is especially anxious to obtain "In the Shadow of Dallas," this subscription should be handled immediately.

The Bureau should be advised 30 days prior to the expiration of the 1968 subscription to allow time to consider renewal.

100-445393-

Enclosure

NOT RECORDED
198 DEC 20 1967

1 - Internal Security (Route through for review)
1 - Crime Research (Route through for review)
1 - Mr. M. F. Row (6221 IB)
1 - 62-46855 (Book Reviews)
1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

ANB:st
(13)

DEC 2[illegible] 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

NOTE ON PAGE TWO

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Airtel to SAC, Denver
RE: PUBLICATIONS - HANDLING OF BY
RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION
[illegible] 5762

NOTE: At request of SA [redacted] Crime Research, NY was req by let 11-15-67, to obtain & fwd to Bu one copy book "In the Shadow of Dallas" for ref purposes. As result of F-? Form to NY, 11-30-67, NY adv book unavail for sale -- avail only as a bonus book to subscribers of one-yr subs to "Ramparts." Both books will be filed in Bulib where not now available.

b6
b7C

FD-36 (Rev 5-22-64)

FBI

Date. 12/18/67

Transmit the following in ____________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-49254) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 11/9/67 and Philadelphia airtel dated 8/29/67.

Enclosed herewith for Newark is one copy of referenced San Francisco airtel.

[redacted]

b6
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b7D

REC-15 100-445393-94

Inasmuch as [redacted] no further investigation is being conducted.

DEC 19 1967

3 - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
2 - Newark (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - Philadelphia (100-49254)

JW/JBK
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE [illegible] BY [illegible]

Approved: ____________ Special Agent in Charge Sent ____________ M Per ____________

DEC 28 1967

LEAD

NEWARK:

AT ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

1. Will review records of [redacted] [redacted] for any information on [redacted]

b7D

2. Will thereafter identify this company.

3. Will submit results to Philadelphia.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: December 19, 1967

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (97-159) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re Boston letter to Director, 12/11/67.

On 11/29/67, [redacted] (protect) advised that a review of [redacted]

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The information furnished by [redacted] can be made available only on the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

New Haven will continue to review [redacted]

② - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
3 - New Haven (97-159)
(1-100-19201 [redacted]
JAD/jrb
(7)

REC 54

100-445393-100

ST-106

15 DEC 22 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/11/80 BY

54 JAN 2 1968

December 27, 1967

REC 18 100 445393 - 101

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear [redacted]

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated December 21, 1967.

The prosecution of individuals involved in destroying or mutilating draft cards is solely a responsibility of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice.

Your observations with regard to these matters are appreciated.

MAILED 24
DEC 27 1967
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - New Haven - Enc.

NOTE: This individual is concerned about four editors of Ramparts magazine not being prosecuted for their actions in connection with picture on cover of magazine where their draft cards appear to be in a process of burning.

On 10/16/67 the Department requested investigation of those responsible for this photo. By letters on 11/22/67 and 11/30/67, we advised against interviewing the editors because of their security backgrounds and we asked whether immunity could be granted the individual who photographed the incident. We received no response and by letter 12/20/67, again asked the Department for its observations in these matters. We still await a reply. We have

TRD:cmp:lab
(4)

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 2.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN
DATE ___ BY ___

Tolson ___
DeLoach ___
Mohr ___
Bishop ___
Casper ___
Callahan ___
Conrad ___
Felt ___
Gale ___
Rosen ___
Sullivan ___
Tavel ___
Trotter ___
Tele Room ___
Holmes ___
Gandy ___

57 JAN 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[redacted]

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furnished them five investigative reports to date. There is nothing more we can do until we get Department advice. This is being followed closely.

Correspondent, in March, 1965, forwarded a leaflet that was critical of this country's stand in Vietnam. In April and October, 1967, he wrote to complain that after subscribing to Ramparts magazine, his name apparently went on numerous mailing lists of organizations of a controversial nature and he received unsolicitous mail from them.

Correspondent is being answered by black letterhead instead of blue letterhead as previously inasmuch as this is the fourth communication received from him and he is becoming a chronic letter writer.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-11-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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[redacted]

b6
b7C

December 21,1967

John Edgar Hoover
U.S.Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington,D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On the cover of the December issue of Ramparts magazine appears a photo of four upraised hands with each hand holding what are apparently burning draft cards.

I note that these draft cards belong to Ramparts Editor,Warren Hinckle III;art director,Dugald Stermer;managing editor,Robert Scheer; and assistant managing editor,Sol Stern.

REC 18 100-445393-101

Cannot something be done about what I would categorize as anti-American actions by the above mentioned? I realize that a recent court decision in Massachusetts insists that the burning of a draft card is not a violation,however, it was also decided that failure to carry a draft card was a violation of the Selective Service Act. Assuming that the four above mentioned did burn their draft cards,opposed to a possible photostatic copy,they would be in violation by failing to be able to produce their draft cards,and, I sincerely hope,subject to immediate arrest!!

22 DEC 2 1967

Very truly yours,
John Albanese
John Albanese

CORRESPONDENCE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-11-2011

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

CDA/J

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 1/2/68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-70748) (P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - C;
REGISTRATION ACT

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW~~

7/8/90

[redacted]

Re: San Francisco airtel to Bureau 12/5/67.

On 12/11/67, [redacted] Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, advised SA GORDON B. PLAYMAN that [redacted] is currently employed there as [redacted] He has been paid no other funds for any projects conducted by CSDI. To her knowledge, [redacted] is not now receiving any royalties from any books or publications. She stated that [redacted] at which time the regulations of the CSDI required that [redacted] again. She had no idea of how [redacted] She understood that [redacted] is apparently [redacted] This is [redacted] name was [redacted]

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On 12/12/67, [redacted] Santa Barbara Credit Bureau, advised that her file on [redacted] was first opened 9/22/60. His former wife was [redacted] who obtained a final divorce decree 10/9/62. His present wife is [redacted] His present address is [redacted] His file contained no derogatory information and no record of a savings and loan account or brokerage affiliation. His only bank account listed was with [redacted]

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
4 - Los Angeles
(1 - 100-68168) [redacted]
GBP:gcw
(8)

REC 13 100-445393-102

Deleted Copy Sent [redacted]
by Letter 4-14-76
Per FOIA Request

JAN 5 1968

~~Classified by SPSC/LDMS~~
~~Declassify on: OADR~~
3/13/90

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

INT. SEC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

55 JAN 18 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

in 1965, at which time it was reported to be in the low four figures. [redacted] had no other income or property listed.

(U) On 12/13/67, [redacted] advised SA GORDON B. PLAYMAN that [redacted] Source was of the opinion that there [redacted] Source was also of the opinion that [redacted] at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Source stated that he was only conjecturing in this matter and that he had no specific information.

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Source subsequently advised on the same date that the Communist Party (CP) in Santa Barbara had no information concerning large sums in the possession of [redacted] (X)

(U)

On 12/12/67, [redacted] (conceal by request) [redacted] could not be made available without proper subpoena. He stated that he would check with [redacted] however, and determine whether or not any information could be provided without subpoena. He stated that he desired to help the FBI if at all possible.

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On 12/20/67, [redacted] advised that he could only furnish general information concerning [redacted] He confirmed that [redacted] He declined to furnish [redacted] He also declined to furnish any information [redacted]

He declined to comment on [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He suggested the possibility that [redacted] may be [redacted] [redacted] but stated that he could provide no facts on which to base this. He stated that he had no information which would indicate that [redacted] [redacted]

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On 12/27/67, [redacted] Santa Barbara Credit Bureau, advised that an inquiry by her on that day indicated that [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

In view of the above information, Los Angeles does not feel that [redacted] [redacted]

Los Angeles files contain the following information concerning [redacted]

[redacted] has never been the subject of a security investigation by the Los Angeles Division since there have never been any allegations on his part of membership in a basis revolutionary organization. [redacted] [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEADS

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will determine source [redacted]

AT SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA: Will recontact [redacted] and report any additional information concerning [redacted] ~~(C)~~

(U)

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b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 22, 1967, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California, have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Fellowship for Social Justice, formerly known as the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, Page 115, as a very active "Communist fronter" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

APPENDIX ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE,
Also Known As
Women's International Strike for Peace

A source advised on May 14, 1967, that the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) in the Southern California area began its operations in the late fall of 1961, as an affiliate of the national organization formed in Washington, D.C. It is a peace oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam. It has also sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). In recent months the organization has sponsored demonstrations protesting the United States involvement in Vietnam and calling for the complete withdrawal of all United States troops from Vietnam. In the spring of 1966, it was instrumental in originating and putting into effect a campaign advocating support for "peace candidates" in the upcoming 1966 Congressional elections.

The same source stated that WSP is a non-membership organization and has no officers. The organization is open to women of all political opinions who are interested in world peace. It makes no effort to exclude from its activities members of, or persons sympathetic to, the Communist Party and related groups.

The guiding force behind the Southern California WSP groups is [redacted] A second source advised in July, 1955, that [redacted] was dropped from the Western Division, Los Angeles County Communist Party (LACCP) in the Spring of 1955, for personal reasons and not because of any political differences with the LACCP.

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The first source advised that Southern California WSP maintains its office at 5899 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles. It receives mail through Post Office Box 19739, Los Angeles 19, California.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

DISCUSSION UNLIMITED, INC.

Records of the Division of Corporations, California State of Department of Investments, Los Angeles, California, indicate that Discussion Unlimited filed its Articles of Incorporation as a nonprofit corporation, with the Secretary of State, Sacramento, California, on or about June 4, 1963, noting its principal site of office as Los Angeles County, California. The aims and purposes of the organization, as listed in the Articles of Incorporation, are "...to promote full and open discussion on our society and problems".

A source advised on May 8, 1963, that Discussion Unlimited, Inc. actually was originated in Los Angeles, California, in May, 1962, and was composed largely of a number of present and former Communist Party members who assist in staging panel forums and in promoting such events. Original coordinator of the group was [redacted], who in 1961, was [redacted] Southern California District Communist Party.

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This source was recontacted on April 9, 1965, and indicated that the basic concept of Discussion Unlimited, Inc. has not changed. It continues to present "left ideas" to at least partially non-committed audiences. It proposes to develop special activities around various issues on an irregular basis. It is not a membership organization, and does not hold regular meetings as such, but rather is strictly a forum-type organization.

On May 10, 1967, another source reported that Discussion Unlimited, Inc. continues to operate as a forum-type organization.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY COUNCIL ON THE CRISIS IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (ECCAFP)

In June, 1965, a source advised that [redacted] and [redacted] formed a new organization called Emergency Council on the Crisis in American Foreign Policy (ECCAFP) in June, 1965. b6 b7C

> A second source advised in October, 1965, that [redacted] and wife, [redacted] former residents of Ohio, moved to California in the 1950's. Prior to moving to California, both of these individuals had been members of the Communist Party (CP) in Ohio where they were acquainted with and worked with GUS HALL, then head of the CP, Ohio District, and now General Secretary of the CP, USA. In recent months, GUS HALL has renewed his acquaintanceship with the [redacted] in California, and has met personally with both of them. In his contacts with the [redacted] particularly with [redacted] it was obvious that HALL dealt with these individuals as party members and as persons considered highly trusted by him.

According to the first source, [redacted] stated that the specific aim of ECCAFP is to effectively pursue political action "as everything we do will involve trying to move some Congressman or Senator or the President." According to this source, she further stated, "we are taking the approach that the military now dominate our foreign policy and this is the cause of our current woes. We are urging a return to open discussions, congressional debates, a different kind of advisors, etc." ECCAFP supports all organizations that are opposed to war in Vietnam.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX CONTINUED

EMERGENCY COUNCIL ON THE CRISIS IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (ECCAFP)

On May 11, 1966, a third source advised that ECCAFP supports those candidates for election in the local, state, and national levels who advocate United States withdrawal from Vietnam. ECCAFP has sponsored teach-ins and forums which are opposed to the United States foreign policy in Vietnam.

On June 24, 1966, the third source advised that [redacted] had resigned her position as Executive Secretary of the ECCAFP. On October 14, 1966, this source advised that the ECCAFP was virtually defunct.

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES [illegible]ERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO Mr. Bishop DATE 11-6-67

FROM M. A. Jones

SUBJECT "IN THE SHADOW OF DALLAS: A PRIMER ON THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY" PUBLISHED BY "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

By letter dated 10-31-67, the Cincinnati Office forwarded an advertisement sent by "Ramparts" magazine, 1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colorado, as a subscription gimmick. As an inducement to subscribe to "Ramparts," the potential customer is offered either a copy of captioned book or one called "A Vietnam Primer" also published by "Ramparts" magazine, as a bonus to a six-months subscription or is given both these books if he subscribes for a full year. "In the Shadow of Dallas" is described as a "newly-revised... collection of exclusive articles on the assassination and its aftermath" taken from "the pages of Ramparts." Among the articles is one entitled "The Case for Jim Garrison," by William W. Turner, which purports to analyze the facts of New Orleans District Attorney Garrison's investigation and which purports to explain, "Why large television networks--and the FBI and CIA--are so set on discrediting Garrison."

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

"Ramparts" magazine and William W. Turner are, of course, well known to the Bureau. Bufiles contain no reference to "In the Shadow of Dallas" nor can any reference therein be found to "The Case for Jim Garrison." Apparently this bonus-book (96 pages in length) is merely a reprint of articles which previously were carried in "Ramparts" magazine. It would also appear that "The Case for Jim Garrison" may be, at least in large part, a synthesis of such articles as "The Plot Thickens," "The Inquest," and "The Press Versus Garrison," which appeared respectively in the April, June, and September, 1967, issues of "Ramparts," all of which have come to our attention. Turner's latest effort in this direction, "The Press Versus Garrision," is typical. hints darkly of a great conspiracy and a "massive propaganda barrage" by

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-109060-5

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan

TDH:jar (7) 16

100-445393

NOT RECORDED
199 DEC 27 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/4/90 BY

57 FEB 9 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

the large television networks and 'the press at large." In concluding this article Turner writes "Such tactics smack of desperation--and indicate there is much to hide."

OBSERVATIONS:

While "In the Shadow of Dallas" will doubtless contain nothing new in regard to the assassination controversy, it is felt that for reference purposes a copy of "In the Shadow of Dallas" would be a useful addition to the Bureau Library.

RECOMMENDATION:

That, if approved, Crime Records will attempt to discreetly obtain a copy of "In the Shadow of Dallas" for reference purposes and review.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES G[illegible]ENT

Memoran[illegible]

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 1/8/68

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

00: San Francisco

Re New York airtel to Director dated 12/12/67.

Page 3, paragraph 4 of re airtel reported negative results on [redacted]

[redacted]

b6
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[redacted] No further [redacted] is requested of New York. If New York has any documents of [redacted] in addition to that appearing in the publication "Whos Who" which is pertinent to this investigation, it may be sent to San Francisco.

(cc 9329+D)
2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (157-1300)(RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO/erg
(5)

REC- 60 100-445393 - 103

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY [illegible]

15 JAN 10 1968

62 JAN 18 1968

January 23, 1968

EC-34

100-445393-104

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of January 15th, with enclosure, has been received. It was thoughtful of you to bring this information to my attention and I appreciate receiving your comments.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 12
JAN 23 1968
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles i[illegible]cate one prior outgoing dated 2-1[illegible]-67 concerning the Consular Treaty. "Ramparts" magazine is the subject of a pending Bureau investigation to determine whether it is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938. The January issue, which correspondent enclosed, has previously been brought to the Bureau's attention.

JBT:dkw (3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/8 BY

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57 FEB 2 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-11-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b6
b7C

Box 5496
China Lake, Calif. 93555

January 15, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Hoover:

This magazine recently came into my hands, sent to me by one who thought that I might be interested in the JFK article (page 43). A quick perusal of its contents leaves me aghast at its brazen articles, full of innuendos, half-truths (if any truth at all), and downright distortions of fact.

I doubt that anything can be done about the proliferation of such rubbish, since the august pronunciomentos of the Warren Court, but I felt I must register a voice of disapproval, in the hope that the Congress may at sometime provide you with the authority to look into such matters.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Encl. Ramparts, January 1968

EXD PROC.

32 JAN 18 1968

REC-34

100-~~44~~ 393-104

JAN [illegible] 1968

"ENCL BEHIND FILE"

ENCLOSURE

CORRESPONDENCE

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

S T
esa

F B I

Date: 1/19/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

C. D.

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300) (RUC)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INC.
IS-C
REGISTRATION ACT
(OO:SF)

ReSFat to Bureau, 12/5/67; and SFlet to Bureau, 1/8/68.

On 1/12/68, [redacted] (conceal per [redacted] [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that a review of the records of [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

EX-113

③ - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
1 - New York

REC-35 100-445393-105

WHB:ecs
(7)

CC 932 DSF

25 JAN 20 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

C. C. - Bishop

EXT. SEC.

Approved: _______ Sent _______ M Per _______
Special Agent in Charge

62 FEB 1 1968

The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]

A review of NY indices contain no references for [redacted]

On 1/12/68, [redacted] (conceal per request), [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that a review of [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]

A review of NY indices reflected no references for [redacted] A review of NY files reflected no information identifiable with [redacted]

ReSFlet dated 1/8/68, requested additional information concerning [redacted] other than that contained in the publication, "Who's Who." A review of NY files contained no pertinent information identifiable with this individual.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 1/30/68

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-49658) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT
(OO: San Francisco)

Re Newark letter to Bureau dated 11/21/67.
Philadelphia airtel to Bureau dated 12/18/67.
San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 8/17/67.

b6
b7C
b7D

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of an FD 302 dated 1/10/68, covering view of records of [redacted] by [redacted] who desires that his identity be protected.

Five copies of the above FD 302 are being furnished to San Francisco and one copy of above 302 and one copy of referenced Newark letter are being furnished to Philadelphia for informational purposes.

In regard to [redacted] which described in the enclosed FD 302, [redacted] advised that a review of [redacted]

[redacted] unable to locate [redacted]

REC 18

ENCLOSURE

2-Bureau (Encs. 3) (RM)
2-San Francisco (100-445393) (Encs. 5)
1-Philadelphia (100-49254) (Encs. 2) (Info)
1-Newark
TGB:ims
(6)

100-445393-106

FEB 1 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE ____ BY ____

57 FEB 6 1968

FD-302 (Rev. 4-15-64)

1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date January 10, 1968

Review of [redacted] reflects [redacted] No record of [redacted] was located.

The above information is not to be made public except following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

On 1/3/68 at [redacted] File # Newark 100-49658

by SA [redacted] (A) /lgd Date dictated 1/8/68

b6
b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your age
it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE 100-44-372

4-528

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-11-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

100-445393-107
CHANGED TO
62-113716-X1

OCT 8 1970 FBI

MH/PJF

MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN REG NO 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)　　DATE: 2/7/68

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (97-159) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS-C
REGISTRATION ACT
(OO:SF)

b6
b7C
b7D

Re: Bureau letter to New Haven, 2/1/68.

New Haven has been able to review [redacted]

[redacted]

New Haven will continue to review [redacted] if there is any information reflecting [redacted] this will be reported by New Haven.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/18/80 BY

REC-19

3- Bureau
2- San Francisco (157-459)
3- New Haven (2- 97-159)
(1- 100-19201)
JAD:cah
(8)
REGISTERED MAIL

EX 101

16 FEB 9 1

INT. SEC.

CC 932 DSY.

FEB 21 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

0-1 (Rev 3-5-64)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, San Francisco (Your file 157-459) DATE: ~~1-4-68~~ 1/8/68

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-445393)

Room No. 932 9th

☒ Post in file and destroy 0-1 *(For SOG use only)*

SUBJECT : Rampart Magazine, etc.

Ramparts Magazine, Inc.

Ramparts of Democracy, The - 100-1709

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☐

☒ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted
☒ report Relet 11-6-67
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☒ will be submitted by 2/16/67

Reporting employee

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution

☑ 5. Submit ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo
☐ report
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE [illegible] BY

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

U S GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1965 O 781 652

157-459

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 25X(1)
DATE 05-10-2011
FBI INFORMATION ONLY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INV

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REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SAN FRANCISCO	SAN FRANCISCO	2/16/68	6/15/67 - 2/15/68

TITLE OF CASE

4/9/96
~~CLASSIFIED BY SSG 9803 RDD/dd~~
~~DECLASSIFY ON: 25X(1)(6)~~
405,193 5/20/03 SPICER/bem
CA#02-0603 cover only

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP2 JAP/AHR 6-11-79~~
~~REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2,3~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 2-16-88~~
~~(For computer) # 6253~~

REPORT MADE BY: EDWARD J. O'FLYNN

TYPED BY: mcn

CHARACTER OF CASE

INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

~~Limited Classification Review Conducted See Top Serial Form 4-774~~

REFERENCE: Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated 6/16/67 at San Francisco.

~~AUTHORITY CITED~~ ~~classification~~ 10-12-79

2/29/84

CLASSIFIED BY: SP6 BIO/...
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

ADMINISTRATIVE

(S) [redacted] Referral/Consult

8/24/84
~~Conf. # 8726 B~~

CC TO: HE CD
REQ REC'D 12-2-69
DEC 11 1969
ANS.
BY: LWB AEE

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CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY
DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 11/20/91 + 12/11/91 9803 RDD/bmo 4-10-92
FOIPA # 87,063 Appeal 85-0650 (PGS. A, C, 28, 29 & 78 ONLY)

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by Letter 2-16...
Per FOIA Request
(PGS A, C, 28, 29, 78 only)

Deleted Copy Sent [redacted]
by Letter 2-...
~~Per FOIA Request~~ 2-97

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...e has been pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

...ROVED ... SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100 - 445393 - 108

...IES MADE:

5 - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)
2 - Boston (100-37684) (RM)
2 - Denver (100-9382) (RM)
2 - Newark (100-49658) (RM)
2 - New Haven (97-159) (RM)
2 - New York (157-1300) (RM)
1 - Philadelphia (100-49254) (RM)
3 - Los Angeles (100-68155) (RM)
3 - San Francisco (157-459)

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~~EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 3~~
~~DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE~~

REC- 4

FEB 21 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

...y	ACSI, OSI, ONI, State, [redacted], RAO (SD)
...st Recd	
...wd	3-8-68
...wd	R/S

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION

RWT - R AF-

Notations
~~REFERRAL DOCUMENT~~
FOI/PA # 290410
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACT. #
E.O. #
DATE 6/29/84 INITIALS

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Photo pg - 1,2,3,3

CC TO WH. PD
RR 3/22/95
Apr 17 1995
ANS BY
Re. [redacted]

REC'D
INTELL DIV.
FEB 21 5-43 PM '68

Photo pgs 1-7, 21, 64-76

CC TO: FO:c
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SF 157-459
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(S) [redacted]

LEADS

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. Maintain contact with [redacted]

(2) Check source of [redacted]

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DENVER

AT PUEBLO, COLORADO. Maintain contact with Neodata Company regarding circulation and subscription income of Ramparts and submit results monthly.

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LOS ANGELES

AT SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA. Continue logical investigation to ascertain [redacted]

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA. Check [redacted] to Ramparts [redacted] as reported by SF T-6 X(S)U on pg 19 of report.

AT BURBANK, CALIFORNIA. Check [redacted]

NEW HAVEN

AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT. Main contact with local sources on [redacted]

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NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK. Check [redacted] as reported by SF T-6 on pg. 19 of report. (X)(S)U

NEWARK

Note information on page 19 of report [redacted] Newark should review its investigation in a search for extraneous funds used to subsidize Ramparts.

Reported information reflects [redacted]

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SF 157-459
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[redacted]

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Newark is requested to recommend further investigation to resolve whether or not extraneous funds are being given to Ramparts through the Sugar Low Company.

PHILADELPHIA (Information)

For information concerning [redacted] in the event that the Newark Office requests additional investigation.

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FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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CLASS. & EXT. BY SP2 TAP/AHR 6-11-79
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 3
DATE OF REVIEW 2-16-88
(Fed Compiled # 6253)

4/9/96
CLASSIFIED BY SSA9803RDD/PL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X(1)(6)
SE2093CLK/BBm 405,193
CA#02-0603 PGS. LHM 1, 62, 79 only

Copy to:

Report of: EDWARD J. O'FLYNN
Date: 2/16/68

Office: San Francisco, California

88-0650 (PGS 28, 29 & 78 ONLY)
Gazow / Revison

Field Office File #: 157-459

Bureau File #: 100-445393

8/29/84
8X23 MCH/DAS 2/12/91

Title: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

CLASSIFIED BY: MULTIPLE SOURCES
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR
#209641,001
SP8 BE:ta/em 10/24/84
Comp. # 87263

CLASSIFIED BY 2955 RDS/BA
EXEMPT FROM (GDS) CATEGORY 2,3
DATE OF

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis:

Record of stock transfers of Ramparts Magazine reported from records of California Division of Corporation which requires stock to be held in escrow because of deficit operation. Ramparts deficit reported as $1,512,692 as of 12/31/66. Deposits in Ramparts account in excess of $5,000 reported and (S) sources identified. Financial supporters and stockholders identified and described. [redacted] b1

REFERRAL DOCUMENT
FOI/PA #209641001 - P - R AK
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACT. #
E.O. #
DATE 8/29/84 INITIALS CBJ

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Classification
DATE 2-9-78 RPS/BSS
6/12-79

Referral/Consult

DETAILS: [redacted]

PREDICATION

This investigation was initiated to determine if Ramparts Magazine, Inc. is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 in that it has not registered with the Attorney General and may currently be engaged in acts of distribution of propaganda, acting as a political agent, collecting information, forwarding information, et cetera, while acting as the agent of a foreign principal.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

SECRET
~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

Classified by 2909
Exempt from GDS, Category 2+3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
D Pierce 1-25-78

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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SF 157-459
EJO/sea

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I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES

A. History and Corporate Structure

1. Subsidiary Corporations of Ramparts

Western Media Corporation

The records of the California Division of Corporations, 1470 Mission Street on Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, file number 92365-SF contained a copy of a certificate dated November 20, 1967, issued by WILLIAM D. EVERS, acting assistant Secretary of Western Media Corporation, stating that the Board of Directors of Western Media on November 17, 1967 by unanimous written consent without a meeting agreed to purchase 40,000 shares of $10 par value stock of Ramparts Magazine at $15.00 per share from EDWARD M. KEATING in the following terms: $20,000 cash payable before December 1, 1967 and balance in ten equal annual installments - non-interest bearing.

Ed Keating

The records of the California Division of Corporations reflect that Ramparts Magazine are authorized to issue a total of 200,000 shares of stock. Stock issued prior to the above petitio to transfer $40,000 shares from EDWARD M. KEATING to Western Media on November 17, 1967 totaled 159,350 shares.

Edward M. Keeting Edward Keating

The records of the California Division of Corporations (file No. 110686SF) reflected on February 8, 1968 that Western Media Corporation on October 26, 1967, received a permit on October 26, 1967 to sell 100 shares of its capital stock to Ramparts Magazine Incorporated at $10.00 per share. Western Media Corporation in its application dated October 20, 1967, to sell these shares stated that its principal offices are at 301 Broadway, San Francisco (same address as Ramparts Magazine business and editorial offices) and that Western Media proposes to develop and market a system of categorizing research to publishers of newspapers, magazines and periodicals. It stated that Western Media Corporation will be the wholly owned subsidiary of Ramparts Magazine Incorporated and that all of Western Media's directors are also directors of Ramparts

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Magazine and will use their experience in solving research problems associated with Ramparts Magazine in developing the system. The application further stated that no shares had been issued and that this application was for an initial issue. Applicant had not commenced doing business and had neither assets or liabilities other than costs of organizing. Western Media would use the $1,000 proceeds from sale of stock for promotion, advertising and working capital.

The Directors and executive officers of Western Media were listed as follows:

Gerald Feigen G. M. Feigen

Name	Address	Office
GERALD MASON FEIGEN	[redacted]	President & Director

Described as [redacted] [redacted] Is currently a director of Ramparts Magazine. [redacted] [redacted]

RICHARD D. RUSSELL	[redacted]	Secretary, Treasurer and Director

Described as [redacted] [redacted] and currently a Director of Ramparts Magazine.

Stanley Sheinbaum

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM	[redacted]	Director

Described as [redacted] [redacted] Currently a Director of Ramparts, Warner David Company, Incorporated, [redacted] (all of California).

Warren James Hinckle

WARREN HINCKLE III [redacted]	[redacted]	Director

Described as editor of Ramparts and a Director [redacted] [redacted]

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WILLIAM D. EVERS [redacted] Assistant Secretar
Assistant Treasure

[redacted]

The records of the Clerk of Court, San Francisco, on February 7, 1968, reflected under file reference No. 57783 that Western Media Corporation filed a petition for incorporation on September 21, 1967 with the purpose stated as primarily to engage in the specific business of devising and marketing research methodology to publishers of newspapers, magazines and periodicals.

The original directors named in this petition were as follows:

	Name	Address
1.	MICHAEL L. PARKER	650 California Street San Francisco, California
2.	LOUIS HONIG, Jr.	650 California Street San Francisco, California
3.	J. RONALD PENGILLY	650 California Street San Francisco, California
4.	RICHARD A. DUMKE	650 California Street San Francisco, California
5.	ALLAN A. JOSEPH	650 California Street San Francisco, California

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The current San Francisco telephone directory lists the above directors [redacted]

WILLIAM D. EVERS currently the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of Western Media [redacted]

none

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Magazine.

For information on financial transactions of Western Media relative to Ramparts Magazine, see the Funds Section of this report.

Writers Assistance Institute Incorporated

The records of the Clerk of the Court, San Francisco on February 7, 1968, contained a petition for incorporation dated August 30, 1967 for a non-profit corporation to be known as the Writers Assistance Institute, Incorporated, formed for the purpose of enabling writers to develop and publish original research in the diciplines such as history, political science, education, sociology and ethics by providing financial assistance to writers in the form of but not limited to scholarship, stipends and research grants to undertake related acts necessary to accomplish these purposes.

The limitations set forth in the articles of incorporation were as follows:

1. No contributions or income shall go to any organization whose net earnings inure to the benefit of private share holders or any activities which is carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation or political compaigns for public office.

2. Only reasonable compensation to be paid to officers or trustees.

3. Upon dissolution assets may go to charitable organizations exempt from Federal Taxation under Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Trustees of the Writers Assistance Institute listed in the Fourth Article of incorporation were as follows:

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LOUIS HONIG, Jr.	650 California Street San Francisco, California
EMMETT F. HARRINGTON	650 California Street San Francisco, California
SHELDON H. WOLFE	650 California Street San Francisco, California

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The current San Francisco telephone directory lists the first two directors [redacted] WILLIAM D. EVERS, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of Western Media is [redacted] of Ramparts Magazine.

For information on the financial transactions of Writers Assistance Institute Incorporated relative to Rampart Magazine see the Funds Section of this report.

2. Stockholders and Stock Transfers

Dask back, Howard

The article of Incorporation of Rampart Magazine authorized the issuance of 200,000 shares of stock at a par value of $10.00 each share. The records of the Division of California Corporations on February 8, 1968, reflect that due to the deficit in the capital account of this corporation all shares issued are held in an escrow account and may not be transferred without authorization of the Commissioner of Corporations. On April 13, 1966, an order was entered changing the Escrow-Holder of Ramparts shares from HOWARD DASCHBACK, Attorney at Law to GERALD C. VANOLI, Attorney at Law, 111 St. John Street, San Jose, California.

The records of the California Division of Corporations reflected that EDWARD M. KEATING was issued shares in the Laymen's Press Incorporated which was later changed into Ramparts Magazine Incorporated, totaling 60,200 between the dated October 6, 1961 and September 14, 1965.

The total of 60,200 shares in escrow were transferred from KEATING to the following individuals on the dates indicated:

Date & Account	Transferee	Payment
1/24/66 12,500 sh.	WARREN HINCKLE (10,000sh) JOSEPH IPPOLITO (2,500 sh)	No consideration
1/18/67 4,900 sh.	DUGALD STERMER (2,500 sh) ROBERT SCHEER (1,500 sh) HOWARD GOSSAGE (450 sh) GERALD FEIGEN (450 sh)	No consideration
12/13/67 42,800 sh.	Western Media Corporation	$15.00 per share, terms $20,000 cas on 12/11/67 and Balance in ten equal annual installments non-interest bearing.

The records of the California Division of Corporations reflect that JOSEPH IPPOLITO of San Jose received 2,500 shares of Ramparts from EDWARD M. KEATING on January 24, 1966, without paying any consideration and on February 11, 1967, transferred these shares held in escrow to FREDERICK C. MITCHELL in consideration of $3,125.00.

JOSEPH IPPOLITO in 1965 was the Treasurer of Ramparts Magazine and was listed as a memberof the Board of Directors in the May 1967, issue of Ramparts.

The records of the California Division of Corporations reflect that the following amounts of Ramparts stock, par value $10.00 was issued in escrow for cash or cancellation of past indebtedness to the following individuals on the dates indicated:

Date	Amount	Transferee and description
2/7/66	10,000 sh.	FREDERICK C. MITCHELL

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4/13/66	10,000 sh.	LOUIS HONIG and/or LOUIS and MIRIAM HONIG nolo Foundation, a charitable corporation.
10/20/66	9,750 sh.	LOUIS HONIG, a share holder and director of Ramparts. IRVING LAUCKS - [redacted] DANIEL BERNSTEIN - [redacted] and Ramparts Director.
2/15/67	10,000 sh.	FREDERICK C. MITCHELL
2/15/67	1,000 sh.	HOWARD GOSSAGE and GERALD FEIGEN.
2/1/67	400 sh.	LOUIS HONIG
4/21/67	10,000 sh.	MARTIN PERETZ
5/1/67	1,250 sh.	LOUIS HONIG
5/25/67	12,000 sh. nolo	MARTIN PERETZ and JUNE O. DEGNAN
6/5/67	30,000 sh.	DANIEL BERNSTEIN (director) STANLEY SHEINBAUM (past director and member of editorial staff.) MARTIN PERETZ (director) FEDERICK HEIM [redacted] nolo

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10/20/67	9,750 sh.	To any or all of: LOUIS HONIG, IRVING LAUCKS, and DANIEL BERNSTEIN.

The above reported issue of Ramparts stock in escrow totals 164,350 including the 60,200 shares originally issued to EDWARD M. KEATING and later transferred by him to other transferees are previously reported.

The law suit filed in Superior Court, San Francisco on May 2, 1967, by EDWARD M. KEATING against Ramparts Magazine under docket number 578431 was rechecked on February 7, 1968 and no further action had been taken in this case.

B. Circulation

Subscription income received by Ramparts Magazine was reported as follows:

SUBSCRIPTION INCOME

MONTH	AMOUNT
August, 1966	$ 122.82
September, 1966	3,063.68
October, 1966	44,726.01
November, 1966	66,329.76
December, 1966	45,777.38
January, 1967	38,670.00
February, 1967	30,932.69
March, 1967	52,575.38
April, 1967	47,566.21
May, 1967	92,019.79
June, 1967	59,429.19
July, 1967	70,486.07
August, 1967	34,879.93
September, 1967	43,155.19
October, 1967	40,439.39
November, 1967	72,943.06

[SF T-1 on 12/15/67] (~~S~~)u

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Mailed subscriptions of Ramparts Magazine were as follows:

CIRCULATION

NUMBER OF SUBSCRIPTION COPIES MAILED

MONTH	AMOUNT
August, 1966	41,225
September, 1966	No issues printed
October, 1966	45,550
November, 1966	41,236
December, 1966	60,659
January, 1967	72,429
February, 1967	78,221
March, 1967	83,257
April, 1967	84,088
May, 1967	90,196
June, 1967	150,204
July, 1967	113,981
August, 1967	No issues printed
September, 1967	122,515
October, 1967	113,601
November, 1967	105,137

[SF T-1 on 12/15/67] (~~S~~)u

C. Funds

The records of the California Division of Corporation on February 8, 1968 contained a financial statement of Ramparts Magazine Incorporated as of December 31, 1966 which read as follows:

Assets

Cash	$100.00
Accounts	140,126.00
Prepaid Expenses	17,109.00
Office furniture & Equip	11,091.00
Deposits and other assets	6,996.00
Total	$175,422.00

Liabilities and Capital

Bank Overdraft	$ 21,779.00
Accounts Payable	310.233.00
Payroll Taxes Payable	5,023.00
Loans from Stockholders	238,972.00
Notes Payable	216.082.00
Interest Payable	10,525.00
Total	802,614.00

Capital

Capital Stock	$849,500.00	
Paid in Surplus	36,000.00	
Deficit	1,512,692.00	(671,192)

(Note current deficit stated above as $671,192 appears to be arithmetically incorrect as current liabilities of $802,614 less current assets of $175,422 would give a figure of ($627,192) as the current deficit for the year 1966.)

Statement of Retained Earnings

Deficit 7/1/66	(1,276,649)
Net Loss thru 12/31/66	(236,043)
Deficit	1,512,692

A credit report of DUN & BRADSTREET dated September 19, 1967 read in part as follows:

FINANCE

On September 19, 1967, KALDENBACH, Controller, submitted estimates from ledger dated June 30, 1967:

Cash	$ 6,000
Accounts Receivable	167,000
Merchandise	1,000
Current	174,000
Fixt & Equip	13,000
Cap Earn Sub List Rental	131,000
Total	318,000

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Accounts Payable	$226,000
Others	4,000
Current	230,000
Long Term Notes	384,000
Int Payable	16,000
Sub Ppd	319,000
NET WORTH	(631,000)
Total	318,000

Annual sales $1,300,000; gross loss ($300,000). Full coverage fire insurance on merchandise and fixtures.

Submitted and signed by ROBERT KALDENBACH, Controller, September 19, 1967.

The financial estimates show non current assets of $131,000 which is for capitalization of subscribers list which is rented to other magazines. This rental is valued over a five year period. Also the long term notes are not due within a number of years. They are payable to stockholders and individuals. One of liability is subscriptions prepaid by subscribers for issues not yet published.

Robert Koldenbach

The figures show a deficit net worth, condition is unbalanced because of this. Last year Subject operated a gross loss of $300,000.

Robert Kaldenbock

Management has been completely changed and operations are being conducted more satisfactorily now. Outside comment is favorable.

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This information is from [redacted] and can only be obtained through the issuance of asubpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted] [redacted]

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[redacted]

Above information is privileged and can only be obtained for evidentiary purposes through the issuance of a Subpoena duces tecum addressed to [redacted]

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[SF T-6 on 11/13/67] (X) U

The records of [redacted]

A review of [redacted]

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SF 157-459
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FUNDS (continued)

Records of [redacted]

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The above information is considered confidential and should not be made public except in the usual proceeding after issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

(X)U [SF T-2 on 10/25/67] (X)U

[redacted]

U(X) [SF T-3] explained that [redacted]

On November 30, 1967, Source advised that [redacted]

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SF 157-459
EJO:mcn
FUNDS (continued)

[redacted]

[SF T-4 on 11/30/67] (X) U

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[redacted]

(See financial supporters section of this report for documentation on [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[SF T-5 on 6/5/67] (X) U

The records of the Town Clerk, West Hartford, Connecticut, were reviewed June 5, 1967, under the name of [redacted] Under the name of [redacted] a transaction was located showing that this name is now, [redacted]

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SF 157-459
EJO:mcn

FUNDS (continued)

It was noted that on May 24, 1967 [redacted] attorney filed a mortgage deed showing that [redacted] had sold one of the parcels of land to Ramparts for the sum of [redacted] This property is number 612 New Park Avenue and consists of a one story building (10,000 square feet) and a large lot. The terms of the agreement, which had been drawn up March 31, 1967, was signed by [redacted] for Ramparts, in the presence of [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted]

Records of the Town Clerk, Town Hall, West Hartford, Connecticut, were reviewed August 30, 1967, by Special Agent [redacted] [redacted]

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Volume 434, Land Records, reflected that on page 355 a Warranty Deed was registered May 24, 1967, showing that [redacted] [redacted] sold to Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, a parcel of land for $400,000.

Volume 434, page 357, reflected that a mortgage was registered May 24, 1967, reflecting that Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, owed [redacted] the sum of $400,000, and that beginning May 1, 1967, 300 installments of $2340 per month was to be paid to [redacted]. The agreement was signed by officers of Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, one of whom was [redacted] who identified himself as [redacted] Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated.

[redacted]

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SF 157-459
EJO:mcn

D. FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS

[redacted] (See Funds Section for activities supporting Ramparts.)

Source stated that from his contact with [redacted] [redacted] he has found him to be a man particularly well versed in finance and having a very sharp mind with respect to the business field. [redacted]

[redacted] is an exceptionally capable man in his field and completely reliable. [redacted]

Source stated that he judges [redacted] Source feels [redacted]

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SF 157-459
EJO:mcn

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (Continued) [redacted]

Source stated that he understands that [redacted] [redacted]

Source has knowledge of [redacted] [redacted] recently contacted [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

SF T-4 on 12/11/67 (X) u

BIRTH

[redacted] Connecticut State Bureau of Vital Statistics, 79 Elm Street, Hartford, Connecticut, advised April 19, 1967, that her records reflect that one [redacted] was born on [redacted] at Hartford, Connecticut, to [redacted] [redacted]

EDUCATION

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[redacted] Hartford, Connecticut, advised June 12, 1967, that [redacted] graduated from [redacted] [redacted] but he did not know under what name [redacted] graduated.

CHANGE OF NAME

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS), Washington, D.C., which were reviewed by a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on June 6, 1967, contained the following information:

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SF 157-459 [redacted]
EJO:mcn

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (Continued) [redacted]

[redacted] exhibited a birth certificate in the name of [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] He gave his permanent residence as [redacted] [redacted] He stated that [redacted] married [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] to [redacted] who was born [redacted] [redacted]

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EMPLOYMENT [redacted]

Records of the Hartford Credit Rating Bureau, 55 Allyn Street, Hartford, Connecticut, were reviewed November 21, 1966, by [redacted] and reflected that [redacted] has been known to the files of this Bureau since 1948. He is reported to have an income of [redacted] and is listed as [redacted] [redacted] He was also listed as being the owner of [redacted] [redacted]

The file reflects that [redacted] formerly resided at [redacted]

The file further reflected that [redacted] came to [redacted] where he had been [redacted]

[redacted] Clerk Secretary of States Office, Incorporated Division, Hartford, Connecticut, advised June 6, 1967, that her file reflects that [redacted] [redacted]

SECRET

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued) [redacted]

[redacted] and became known as the [redacted] President of this was shown as [redacted] - President. Secretary was [illegible] [redacted] The director of the company is listed as [redacted] No mention is made of [redacted] in connection with this company. The records reflect that in [redacted] [redacted] was sold to [redacted] and [redacted]

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[redacted] advised June 12, 1967, that it is his understanding on good authority, [redacted] He also advised that [redacted] has put up money behind [redacted]

BUSINESS DEALINGS [redacted]

u (X) SF T-12 advised on November 12, 1966, that STANLEY LEVISON, and [redacted] were in conference on that date and they discussed a time when the two could discuss in greater detail [redacted] willingness to set up a business for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). ~~(S)~~ (u)

u (X) SF T-2 stated on October 29, 1966, that at that time MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President of the SCLC, had stated to LEVISON that [redacted] whom he described as a multi-millionaire, had told him that he was in favor of organizing a new company which would be half owned by the SCLC. It was suggested by [redacted] that this might be a retail record and stereo tape marketing company.

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued) [redacted]

SF T-13 advised in April 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. (CP,USA) in July 1963. [In late 1963, and early 1964, he critized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON is described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His difficulties with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism](S) U

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SF T-14 advised October 30, 1958, that [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] of the Connecticut Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy [redacted] [redacted]](X) U

The "Hartford Times," a daily evening newspaper published in Hartford, Connecticut, in its issue of January 31, 1961, reflected that one RICHARD A. RUSSELL was elected treasurer of the newly formed Central Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in Connecticut.

The article reflected that the group is devoted to the "cessation of all nuclear weapons testing with adequate inspection and to general multi-lateral disarmament."

U (X) SF T-15 advised August 24, 1965, that [redacted] [redacted] providing financial support to the North End Community Action Project (NECAP) [redacted]

Captain [redacted] Hartford Police Department, advised August 18, 1965, that NECAP is a militant civil rights group in Hartford, Connecticut, composed of Negroes and whites.

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SF 157-459
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued) [redacted]

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On April 28, 1967, records of the Division of Corporations, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, were reviewed and reflect that [redacted] [redacted] was incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts [redacted] [redacted] and it is located at [redacted] [redacted]

On [redacted] the incorporation's name was changed to [redacted] Its officers are President and Treasurer [redacted] [redacted] Directors include [redacted]

Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Incorporated, 6 St. James Street, records were checked May 8, 1967, and reflect that [redacted] resides in [redacted] and is listed as the [redacted]

(X) U

On January 19, 1967, SF T-16 advised that when [redacted] [redacted] first came to [redacted] he used the name [redacted] and that [redacted] located in Boston, Massachusetts, known as [redacted] [redacted] He also [redacted] [redacted] in which [redacted] [redacted]

U (X) SF T-16 stated that [redacted] [redacted] made a loan to Ramparts Magazine in California and is supposed to influence the policy of this magazine.

U (X) [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

U

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued) [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] currently resides at [redacted]

[redacted] is known to [redacted]

On April 28, 1967, records of the Division of Corporations, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, were reviewed. These records showed that [redacted]

[redacted] Its officers were as follows:

President and Treasurer	[redacted]
Vice President	[redacted]

SECRET

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued) [redacted]

Clerk [redacted]

The following are listed as directors of the corporation:

[redacted]

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On May 8, 1967, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Incorporated, 6 St. James Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, were checked by personnel of that bureau and a record was found for [redacted] wife [redacted] residing at [redacted] His employment was shown as [redacted] The only information on the credit record is that an inquiry was made by [redacted] credit rating is shown as satisfactory.

On April 26, 1967, (X) u SF T-17 advised that he has heard rumors that [redacted]

u (X) SF T-17 stated that [redacted] which is [redacted] and located at the same address, [redacted]

SECRET

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SF 157-459
EJO:mcn

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)
Concerning Lincoln Web Offset Company and MARC STONE ($35,000)

On June 23, 1967, [redacted] Nassau Clearing House Association, Incorporated, 450 North Main Street, Freeport, New York, advised Special Agent [redacted] that he had no record of the names of the principals of the Lincoln Web Offset Company, which is located at 200 Finn Court, Farmingdale, New York, but stated the Company was granted a loan on December 9, 1966, for $2,649.50. b6 b7C b7D

(X)U

On June 23, 1967, SF T-7, advised Special Agent [redacted]

(X)U 1.7

[redacted]

On June 30, 1950, LOUIS F. BUDENZ, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that MARC STONE was the brother of I.F. STONE, who was a Communist. BUDENZ stated that MARC STONE at that time was Advertising Manager of the New York "Daily Compass." According to BUDENZ, STONE reported constantly to officials of the "Daily Worker" while he was Business Manager of the Federated Press during May 1950, and consulted an official of the "Daily Worker" as to how he could best escape military service since he considered that as a Communist, he could do more in the publication field. BUDENZ stated that STONE did subsequently go into military service.

U(X) SF T-9, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised during 1952, that the editorial and reportorial staff of the "Daily Compass" was composed in the majority of Communists and Communist sympathizers. This source further advised that the rewrite men gave news a pro-Soviet slant, and there was a constant trading of news with the "Daily Worker."

The "Daily Worker" was an east coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

maRa Stone

The June 1967 issue of Ramparts listed MARC STONE as a Director of Ramparts.

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SF 157-459
EJO:mcn

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued) (Loan Prospect)
SIMON MORRIS LAZARUS

The files of the Passport Office, U.S. Department of State, checked on July 25, 1966, reflected that on September 11, 1962, at Los Angeles, California, SIMON M. LAZARUS was issued passport No. C682065, for the purpose of a threemonth trip to South America and the Orient for the purpose of business and pleasure. He listed his permanent address as 316 Conway Avenue, Los Angeles, and his occupation as investments and real estate.

He stated that he was born on April 19, 1884 in Russia. He immigrated to the U.S. in January 1914, and was naturalized on May 5, 1924, in the U.S. District Court in New York and received Certificate of Naturalization No. 1946733.

/Lazarus

He stated that he was married on April 7, 1920, to MINA MOHI, who was born on December 28, 1998 in Russia. He stated that his wife was a U.S. citizen.

MRS. Simon MORRIS LaZaRUS

On March 26, 1953, LAZARUS testified before the House Committee on un-American activities at a public session in Los Angeles, California. He stated that he was Director and President of Independent Productions Corporation (IPC) (see appendix), which corporation produced the picture "Salt of the Earth" from its inception until March 19, 1953. He stated that this corporation borrowed $90,000.00 for the production of the above mentioned picture. LAZARUS refused to mention names of the officers and directors of IPC; refused to answer questions of whether or not any money or anything of value directly or indirectly had been received from the Communist Party (CP) to finance the picture "Salt of the Earth"; and refused to mention any names whatsoever before the committee. He also refused to say whether he was ever a member of the CP.

SF T-10 advised on August 28, 1961, that LAZARUS has a life time-subscription to the "Peoples World" (PW).

As of October 1965, SF T-11 advised that LAZARUS had pledged a $600.00 contribution to the PW.

The "PW" is a West Coast communist newspaper which is published weekly in San Francisco.

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SF 157-459
EJO:mcn

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)
S. L. C. DISTRIBUTORS, INC. ($62,500)
SUGAR-LO COMPANY
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

The 1966 city directory for Atlantic City, New Jersey, reveals that Sugar-Lo Company, Dietetic Ice Cream, 2001 Bacharach Boulevard, is [redacted]

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On October 26, 1967, [redacted] Credit Rating Service, Incorporated, 1616 Pacific Avenue, Atlantic City, New Jersey, made available to Special Agent [redacted] [redacted] the following credit information:

S. L. C. Distributors, Incorporated, doing business as Sugar-Lo Company, Incorporated, 2001 Bacharach Boulevard, Atlantic City, New Jersey, was incorporated under New Jersey law on December 31, 1964. This company was capitalized for 2,000 no par shares with three shares paid in for the purpose of doing business as a commission merchants, etc. Incorporators are:

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459
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ALAN KLIGERMAN
[redacted]

SIGMUND RIMM
[redacted]

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MAE LE VAN
[redacted]

The agent for this company is recorded as ALAN KLIGERMAN. [redacted]

[redacted] A credit report dated November 1, 1960, on [redacted] [redacted] and wife, [redacted] nee [redacted] [redacted] shows him as age [redacted] white, and married with wife dependant. [redacted] had been at the above mentioned address since [redacted] and prior to this at [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] was, in [redacted] doing business as [redacted] [redacted] Prior to this, [redacted] [redacted]

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This report reveals that [redacted] bear a satisfactory personal reputation and nothing detrimental was learned concerning their character or habits.

A credit report on [redacted] dated July 11, 1963, shows [redacted] A notation on this report dated January 25, 1966, shows him to be residing at [redacted] Atlantic City, New Jersey. b6 b7C

Files of the credit Rating Service, Incorporated, Atlantic City, New Jersey, also revealed that [redacted]

[redacted]

The 1966 city directory for Atlantic City reveals that [redacted] and wife, [redacted], reside at [redacted] His occupation is given as [redacted] Atlantic City, New Jersey. This directory also shows that [redacted] and husband [redacted] reside at [redacted] New Jersey. His occupation is given as [redacted] Atlantic City, New Jersey.

[redacted]

On November 2, 1967, while interviewing [redacted] of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), concerning the current racial situation in Atlantic City, casual inquiry was made of him by Special Agent [redacted] concerning the nature of Ramparts Magazine, a copy of which he referred to as a "liberal-critical type publication" commenting that he is very much in sympathy with its views. He said that the magazine carries some commercial advertisements, but in the main gets its financial support strictly from its subscription rate. He added that Ramparts is directed toward the urban intelligentsia and consequently he has never placed any commercial advertisements in the magazine. [redacted] made no effort to volunteer information concerning the transfer of funds by his company to Ramparts and no leading questions were asked of him in this regard. b6 b7C

[redacted] made available a copy of an open letter captioned "Stop the war, Mr. President" which contains signatures of over 300 business executives who oppose the war in Vietnam [redacted] Sugar-Lo Company, Atlantic City, New Jersey," appears on this open letter.

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SF 157-459
EJO:mcn

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted]

[redacted]

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SF T-18 on 12/8/67

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted] also known as [redacted]

[redacted]

U (~~X~~) [SF T- 19 on 1/12/68]

[redacted] was a subscriber to the "PW" 1965 through 1968 and was receiving this publication at [redacted] [redacted] in October 1967. (~~X~~) U

[SF T-20 on 10/11/67] (~~X~~) U

MR + MRS.

The records of the Credit Bureau of the Greater East Bay in a report dated September 27, 1967, one [redacted] [redacted] reported that he is [redacted] [redacted] and that [redacted] formerly from New York.

SF 157-459
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted] (X)U

[redacted]

[redacted]

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)
ABBEY A. ROCKEFELLER ($15,000)

[redacted]

[SF T-6 on 1/2/68](X)u

Volume No. 34, the 1966-67 edition on "Who Who in America" page 1800 lists an ABBY GREENE (ALDRICH) ROCKEFELLER, mother of DAVID ROCKEFELLER, JOHN DAVISON ROCKEFELLER, 3rd, LAURANCE S. ROCKEFELLER , NELSON ALDRICH ROCKEFELLER, and WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER.

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)
[redacted]

The student directories of the University of California, Berkeley (UCB) listed [redacted] [redacted], as a graduate student [redacted] 1961-62, 1962-63, and 1963-64. The student directories for 1964-65 and 1965-66, listed [redacted] as a graduate student [redacted] The directory for the current school year contains no listing of [redacted] AKa [redacted]

[redacted] UCB, made available to Investigative Clerk [redacted] on June 5, 1967, information that [redacted] date of birth [redacted] Social Security Number [redacted] last residence [redacted] had been employed by the University while attending graduate school. His next of kin was listed as [redacted] [redacted] worked first as a [redacted] then as [redacted] and finally as [redacted] [redacted] the last job being from September 1964 to January 31, 1966. On the latter date, he resigned in order to devote time to research for his dissertation.

[redacted] UCB, advised Investigative Clerk [redacted] June 7, 1967, that [redacted] [redacted] entered UCB as a [redacted] in September 1960 [redacted] [redacted] was previously awarded his BA degree at [redacted] in 1955. [redacted] [redacted] He was born [redacted] [redacted]

Records of the San Francisco Police Department were checked on May 23, 1967, by Investigative Clerk [redacted] concerning [redacted] with negative results. Records of the Oakland Police Department were checked by Investigative Clerk [redacted] on May 23, 1967, concerning [redacted] with negative results.

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SF 157-459
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Records of the San Francisco Retail Credit Association, San Francisco, California, were checked by Special Employee [redacted] May 24, 1967, and a satisfactory record was located for [redacted] and his wife, [redacted], who were then living at [redacted] in December 1960. At that time, [redacted] California. [redacted] was listed as [redacted] The records also reflect that a credit check was made for [redacted] in November 1962, while they were living at [redacted] at which time he was listed as a graduate student at UCB [redacted] The record also showed a previous address at [redacted]

Records of the Credit Bureau of the Greater East Bay, Oakland, California, were checked on May 23, 1967, by Investigative Clerk [redacted] and it was determined that was [redacted] and his wife [redacted] had an excellent credit rating. The record showed they resided at [redacted] prior to 1960. [redacted] in October 1960. [redacted] in September 1961, and [redacted] The credit bureau forwarded a summary of the credit record to the credit bureau, P.O. Box 725, Lawrence, Kansas on June 30, 1966. This record reflects [redacted] was born [redacted] was born [redacted] [redacted]

On August 3, 1967, [redacted] Erie Credit Bureau, 1021 State Street, Erie, Pennsylvania, advised Special Agent [redacted] that his records reflect that [redacted] and his wife [redacted]

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record. The records reflect that their recorded address, as of October 1960, was [redacted] [redacted] had previously resided at [redacted] [redacted] date not shown. The records also indicated that he had served in the U.S. Navy in 1955. He reportedly was graduated from the University of California at Berkeley. His name has been on file since February 1955 and credit was last cleared in May 1958. As of 1958, he was employed with [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

Credit records also reflect that [redacted] and his second wife, [redacted], have an [redacted] and resided at [redacted] [redacted] He is [redacted] [redacted] His name has been in file since June 1933 and credit was last cleared in April 1962. As of 1962, he was residing at [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

On August 3, 1967, [redacted] [redacted] advised that [redacted] known as [redacted] when formerly employed for a short time [redacted]

The July 29, 1967, issue of the Berkeley Gazette, contained an article captioned "Ramparts Old Fashioned, Claims One

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Cal. 8

of its Editors" by TERRY SELLARDS which read in part as follows:

> "Frederick Mitchell may be the only person who considers controversial Ramparts Magazine 'old-fashioned.'
>
> "The former Berkeley graduate student contends that the magazine is 'in a sense' old-fashioned because it is ultramoralistic.
>
> "The publication is viewed differently by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), whose foundations were shaken the past year by Rampart's revelations of subsidies to student and professional organizations. It is viewed differently, too, by the so-called political establishment in this country, often the butt of Ramparts exposes.
>
> "Mitchell's assessment of the publication is that it tends to see thing 'in black and white' without giving in to what he calls 'the agonizing error' in journalism: the idea that things are far too complex for publications to take absolute positions and that most people in government are men of good faith attempting to do what is right in the midst of complicated contradictions.
>
> "A graduate of Yale, the 33-year-old Mitchell looks and acts every bit the young Ivy League gentleman, his Berkeley stint notwithstanding.
>
> "His scholarly demeanor and analytical academic mind seem a strange contradiction to his recent decision to leave an assistant professorship at the University of Kansas and join Pamparts as an editor and an earlier decision to sink $200,000 into Ramparts.
>
> "The money for the investment came from an inheritance he received while a graduate student in Berkeley. His decision to invest it in a magazine then losing money on a grand scale must rank as one of the rare moments in the history of free enterprise.

"It was a gesture of faith for Mitchell, who will join the magazine's San Francisco staff in August at the conclusion of his teaching stint at KU.

"'I received the inheritance and I was looking around for a place to invest some of it," Mitchell explains. 'A friend of mine told me Ramparts was looking for more investors. I had no idea whether I was interested or not, but after listening to Warren Hinckle (editor) talk about his plans for the magazine, I was convinced.'

"'I believed in what he was saying and what he wanted to do. I felt safe in investing my money with him. It's as simple as that. Also, I wanted to help.'

"As Mitchell sees it, Ramparts, under Hinckle's leadership, is attempting to 'get through the big lie' -- the hypocrisy of big government which in its impersonalized, expedient way can neutraliez morality and hold itself not accountable to the public for its action.

"Mitchell believes Ramparts has returned to the best traditions of journalism.

"'Ramparts insists on public accountability on the part of government,' Mitchell said. 'And, they expect honesty from public officials.

"'Ramparts is suspicious of the military establishment.

"'This suspicion is in the best traditions of the conservatism. When is the last time you believed a press statement from the Pentagon? It's not that everything that comes from there is a lie. It's that they have covered up so many things in the past that no one knows what is credible and what isn't.'

"Another traditional stand taken by Ramparts is its opposition to the growing impersonality of big government, Mitchell said.

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"He explained that Ramparts is not against big government because it is big, but because it is impersonal--because it has computerized individuals into a great nameless numbered mass called the public.

"The most compelling factor about the magazine to Mitchell is its independence.

"'It (Ramparts) views itself as outside the establishment,' Mitchell said. 'It has no particular political ties and is not interested in doctrinal issues.'"

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted]

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[SF T-22 on 9/49] ~~(S)~~ (~~C~~) u

[redacted] has donated money to Communist causes in the past. ~~(S)~~ u

[SF T-23 on 7/7/67] ~~(S)~~ (~~C~~) u

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[redacted]

[SF T-24 on 6/8/67] (~~C~~) u

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)
~~DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN($15,000)~~

(X)U

On June 27, 1967, SF T-17, who is in a position to furnish reliable information, furnished Special Agent [redacted] [redacted] the following credit information concerning D.J. BERNSTEIN & Company; DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN, Owner, 391 Fort Hill Road, P.O. Box 657, Scarsdale, New York. [X] U

B approx 1918

Daniel (Justin) Bernstein

Payments

Principle transactions are in securities, governed by relations of Securities & Exchange Commission and Federal Reserve Board. Incidentals are usually purchased locally. [U]

Finance

On January 31, 1967, Mr. DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN declined statement. Figures taken from the financial questionnaire as of August 31, 1961, and filed with Securities & Exchange Commission on October 12, 1961, indicated a net worth of approximately $1,900,000 and a generally good condition. [U]

History

Daniel

Business started by present owner during 1956. ~~X~~ BERNSTEIN, married, born 1918. 1941-1946, served United States Armed Forces. 1946 - 1956, Vice President of North American Realty Corporation, securities holding company, New York City. 1956, established subject business. [U]

Operation

Stock brokers and dealers, holding memberships on the New York Stock Exchange. Also member N.A.S.D. Clearances made through Chemical New York Trust and New York Stock Clearing Corporation. Owner active. Two employed.
Location: Occupies one floor converted dwelling in residential area. Building well maintained. [U]

~~SECRET~~

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SF 157-459
EJO:mcn

(X) u 391 Fort Hill Road
~~PO~~ Box 657 Scarsdale, N.Y.

MRS.

On October 24, 1962, SF T-25, advised that he had been acquainted with DANIEL (JUSTIN) BERNSTEIN and his wife, [redacted] for several years in that they have mutual friends on a social level. This source stated that DANIEL BERNSTEIN has a business which he operates from his house, and described the business as a securities investment and speculation operation. The source advised that DANIEL BERNSTEIN is independently wealthly as a result of a large inheritance. The source described the BERNSTEINs as people who are preoccupied with being champions of causes concerning pacificism. The BERNSTEINs, according to the source, belong to numerous peace groups, ban the bomb clubs and organizations involved with African nations. The source stated the BERNSTEINs make their home available to African students and United Nations personnel representing African nations. The source advised that [redacted] had told him that [redacted] had confided to her that she and her husband, DANIEL, financially supported the Committee For Sane Nuclear Policy and several peace groups, including Women Strike For Peace. Source stated [redacted] had attended several parties and social functions at the BERNSTEINs house during all of which criticizing comments were made by those attending, concerning the American foreign policy, imperialism and capitalistic society. (X) u

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WOMEN FOR PEACE aka
Women Strike for Peace

WSP, IS

The "Berkeley Daily Gazette," a daily newspaper of general circulation published in Berkeley, California, contained an article in the November 19, 1965, evening edition reflecting that in November, 1961, when concern mounted over radioactive fallout from nuclear testing, a group of women in Washington, D. C. started Women Strike for Peace. The idea spread rapidly throughout the country and now embraces 900 groups, including Women For Peace groups in the San Francisco Bay area.

These groups support programs to achieve goals such as:

(1) Continued disarmament negotiations.

(2) A strong and flexible United Nations.

(3) Planning now at state and national levels for conversion to peace-time economy and positive efforts to ease world tensions.

The women act as individuals and as a group, with specific actions suggested by individuals and groups from all over the world. Decision to participate jointly on any given suggestion is democratly arrived at by members of the Coordinating Committee. Effective cooperation with other peace groups is encouraged. Monthly Coordinating Committee meetings and general meetings, as warranted, are open to all and announced in mailings to members. There are no dues or membership forms nor conditions for membership.

To stir an awareness of the need for peace, Women For Peace encourage public education in peace objectives at local schools and sponsor peace-oriented demonstrations and public meetings, newspaper ads, billboards, and candidates for public office. On the national level the group attempts to influence government officials by letters and conferences.

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted]

The December 1, 1967 issue of "Time", the national weekly magazine, on page 38, contained an article entitled "Ramparts Dropout" which further identifies ANNE and MARTIN PERETZ. The article stated in part as follows:

"Not all of the old hands are joining in 'Rampart' salutes these days. Conspicuously absent in Principal Stockholder and onetime Publisher Edward Keating, who was discovered 'plotting' against the magazine last spring, as his detractors put it. The latest dropout is another major stockholder, Martin Peretz, a Harvard lecturer in government who has contributed substantially to the magazine as well as to other New Left causes. He is also married to Anne Farnsworth, a Singer Sewing Machine heiress.

"What bothers Peretz, he says, in 'Commentary' magazine is 'Rampart's' anti-Jewish attitude toward the Arab-Israeli war. Editor Hinckle, say Peretz, likes to be 'flippy' --- that is, perverse in a flip, hippie sort of way. This translated into articles like the one Peretz calls 'the most carefully selective and skewered history of the conflict to come from any source save possibly the propaganda machines of the respective parties.' The article 'occasionally takes note of Nasser's calculating politics,' says Peretz, but 'settles the burden of the tragic events squarely on Israel.' All of this fits what Peretz says has become the New Left's

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SF 157-459
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted]

> Middle East dogma: that Israel and Israel alone must bear the blame for the responsibility for the future. Not, it should be clear, only for the plight of the Arab refugees, but for the behavior of the Arab regimes as well, and even (how powerful little Israel must have become!) for the policy of the Soviet Union, its sycophants (at least when Jews are in question), and virtually the entire Third World.'"

[redacted]

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[redacted] SF T-26 on 11/16/67 (X) U [redacted]

On July 30, 1964, Investigative Clerk [redacted] obtained the following passport record at the Passport Office, Department of State, Washington, D.C.: [redacted]

Name
Passport
Date of Birth [redacted]

Permanent Residence [redacted]
[redacted]

Purpose of trip Join family [redacted]
[redacted] born
[redacted] born
[redacted]

Parents [redacted] born [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] born [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted]

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SF 157-459
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[redacted]

Last Married On: [redacted]

born at [redacted]

"Who's Who in America", 1966-1967, Volume 34, page 1201 reflects HENRY RICHARDSON LABOUISSE as father of ANNE LABOUISSE FARNSWORTH. HENRY RICHARDSON LABOUISSE was U.S. Ambassador to Greece from 1962 - 1965, and Executive Director, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 1965. His home is listed as 2429 Kalorama Road, NW, Washington, DC, and his office as United Nations Headquarters, New York City.

Born 2/11/05 at New Orleans Louisiana

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The 1966-1967 Harvard University Directory of Officers and Students lists [redacted]

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SF 157-459
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted]

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On December 13, 1967, SF T-29, advised Special Agent GORDON B. PLAYMAN that [redacted] Source was of the opinion [redacted] Source was also of the opinion [redacted] Source stated that he was only conjecturing in this matter and that he had no specific information. (X) U

Source subsequently advised on the same date that the Communist Party (CP) in Santa Barbara had no information concerning large sums in the possession of [redacted] (X) U

U (X) [On December 12, 1967, SF T-30,] [redacted] advised that information concerning [redacted] could not be made available without proper subpoena. He stated that he would check with [redacted] however, and determine whether or not any information could be provided without subpoena. He stated that he desired to help the FBI if at all possible.

U (X) [On December 20, 1967, SF T-30] advised that he could only furnish general information concerning [redacted] He declined to furnish [redacted] He also declined to furnish any information which would indicate [redacted]

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted]

He declined to comment on [redacted]

[redacted]

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)
LOUIS M. RABINOWITZ FOUNDATION, INC.
VICTOR RABINOWITZ ($15,000)

VICTOR RABINOWITZ, attorney, was listed along with LEONARD B. BOUDIN, attorney, at 25 Broad Street, New York, New York, in 1962 Manhattan Telephone Directory as subscribers to DI 4-5564. u

> LEONARD B. BOUDIN during the early 1940's was a concealed member of the CP and actively associated with CP front organizations. u
>
> LOUIS BUDENZ on
> 6/21/50

b7D

[redacted]

SF T-27 on 1/9/62 (X) u

VICTOR PERLO, economist and columnist for The Worker and the People's World Communist Party newspaper, on November 2, 1961, stated that he would like to prepare an economic survey of Puerto Rico and had contacted ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, CP functionary, to determine if funds were available for such a survey. TRACHTENBERG (X) u

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SF 157-459
EJO:mcn

3 told PERLO that the RABINOWITZ family had a fund for such a purpose and that GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, had the key to it. TRACHTENBERG felt that if HALL was interested in the project
1 funds could be obtained. [S] u

[SF T-28 on 11/2/61] (X) u

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D. GENERAL ACTIVITIES

Publication of a Weekly Newspaper

The June 8, 1967 issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" contained an article captioned "The Death of a Local Gadfly which read in its entirety as follows:

> "The Sunday Ramparts, a cheeky little weekly which came out twice a month, and never on Sunday, died yesterday.
>
> "Its final appearance was in a limited edition of four pages that were blank except for its own obituary:
>
> "'Ramparts, The Sunday - in this city, June 7, 1967. Beloved child of Ramparts magazine. Friends may call after 5 p.m. at Andre's Bistro, Broadway and Montgomery streets. Wake and interment following.''
>
> HAZE
>
> "The eccentric and impious little periodical died as it had been born, in an alcoholic haze. It died as it had lived, in debt.
>
> "The announcement of its passing was made at a press conference by the magazine's 28-year-old editor, Warren Hinckle III, who last month wrenched control of the Ramparts magazine from Edward M. Keating.
>
> "The Sunday Ramparts came into being eight months ago 'as a kind of joke,' Hinckle said. "We were drunk at Enrico's and we said, 'We'll put out a newspaper, by God.'"

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SF 157-459
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GENERAL ACTIVITIES (continued)

MONEY

> "He reported the newspaper picked up more than 25,000 buyers, so as the months went by Ramparts put about $35,000 into it. But to keep it going, and maybe in the black, he said, the staff would have had to be tripled.
>
> 'The big push now, he told reporters, is to keep Ramparts magazine going. He reported that this muckraking magazine to date has lost about $1.5 million, but has increased its circulation to 250,000.
>
> "'Ramparts will be making money in about six months,' he predicted."

Draft Card Burning by Ramparts Editors

The November 16, 1967 issue of the "San Francisco Examiner" contained an article captioned "Ramparts Editors Burn Draft Cards which read in its entirety as follows: U

> "The cover of the December issue of Ramparts magazine has a color picture of four draft cards burning and publisher Marc Stone says the cards belonged to the magazine's four top editors. U
>
> "In a column titled 'Apologia' on Page 2, an article begins: 'If you're looking for an editorial in the usual place this month, forget it. It's on the cover.'" U
>
> "Stone said the burning draft cards belonged to Warren Hinckle III, 29, editor; Dugald Stermer, 31, art director; Robert Scheer, 31, managing editor, and Sol Stern, 32, assistant managing editor. U

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GENERAL ACTIVITIES (continued)

> "The publisher confirmed that Hinckle is blind in the left eye.
>
> "Asked if he is eligible for the draft, Hinckle told a newsman: 'Every one of us is eligible for the draft. I have a 1-A classification.'"
>
> "Hinckle said the magazine cover is 'a very serious editorial statement,' and he added:
>
> "'There is a very serious political crisis in this country and we want to show that the bureaucracy of the Selective Service System is unfair.'"

Dugald STERMER

Selective Service Registration Certificate for SOL STERN; Selective Service System Notice of Classification for DUGALD ROBERT STERMER; Duplicate Selective Service Registration Certificate dated December 5, 1958, for ROBERT SCHEER, and Cards Selective Service Notice of Classification for WARREN JAMES n.y. HINCKLE displayed on cover of December, 1967 issue of Ramparts magazine. On cover, cards were displayed by four right hands, and part of arm of individuals reported to be models. Edges of cards were seared and in most instances the Registrant's signature was completely burned away. Flames in background gave the impression the cards were aflame, however, there were seared areas on the cards where there was no flame in the background. STERN, age 32, registered with Local Draft Board 29, Bronx, New York, classified 1-Y on February 16, 1967. STERMER, age 30, registered with Local Draft Board 95, Los Angeles, is married and the father of three children, classified 3-A on March 17, 1960. SCHEER, age 31, registered with Local Draft Board 29, Bronx, New York, was classified 1-A on April 25, 1962, and is eligible for 3-A classification. Will not be called for induction. HINCKLE, age 29, registered with Local Draft Board 40, San Francisco. In 1960, was classified 1-A, on September 29, 1961, was given a physical and classified 4-F on November 16, 1961, because has an artificial right eye. Selective Service card "in-process" burning for HINCKLE showed 1-A classification.

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II OFFICERS & EMPLOYEES

The February 1968 issue of Ramparts listed the following officers and staff:

"Editor
WARREN HINCKLE III

"Art Director
DUGALD STERMER

"Managing Editor
ROBERT SCHEER

"Assistant Managing Editor
SOL STERN

"Senior Editors
GENE MARINE, FREDERICK C. MITCHELL, WILLIAM TURNER, DAVID WELSH

"Associate Editors
MAXWELL GEISMAR, DAVID HOROWITZ, STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM

"Consulting Editors
NOAM CHOMSKY, HOWARD GOSSAGE, CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN, CARL OGLESBY

"Copy Editor
LESLIE TIMAN

"Military Editor
DON DUNCAN

"Staff Writers
MIKE ANSARA, BOB AVAKIAN, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, PETER COLLIER, MARIANNE HINCKLE, ADAM HOCHSCHILD, DAVID KOLODNEY, STEPHEN SCHNECK, JOHN SPITZER, JUDY STONE.

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OFFICERS & EMPLOYEES (continued)

"Advertising/Production Director
JOHN WILLIAMS

"Contributing Editors
G.M. FEIGEN, Travel; PAUL KRASSNER,
Society; JEAN LACOUTURE, Southeast Asia;
SANDRA LEVINSON, JUDY FEIFFER, New York;
THOMAS BRANSTEN, Paris; MARCUS RASKIN,
Washington; JESSICA MITFORD, Oakland;
MONIQUE MAURER, Munich; HERBERT GOLD,
PAUL JACOBS, San Francisco; LESLIE FIEDLER,
Buffalo; HUNTER S. THOMPSON, Aspen; SONIA
ORWELL, London; STAN FREBERG, Extra Pages;
HAROLD LIPSET, Criminology; MAURICE ZEITLIN,
JOHN GERASSI, Latin America.

"Editorial Assistants
JANIS CHAN, KATHERINE FLEGAL, PAULI GILLILAND,
KAREN KAHN, DEBORAH SAMPSON, VAMPIRA, ANNA
WILLIS-BETTS

"Assistant to the Editor
MAUREEN STOCK

"Administration
WARREN HINCKLE III (General Manager),
ROBERT KALDENBACH (Controller,
BERT GARMISE (Circulation Consultant),
MARC STONE (East Coast Manager),
G.M. FEIGEN (Generalist),
ROY TIGNER (Assistant Controller),
TUCK WEILLS (Circulation Manager,
GORDON FINLEY (Eastern Advertising Manager),
NANCY TIBBON (Western Advertising Manager)"

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III. STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The September 10, 1967 issue of the "Denver Post", Denver, Colorado contained an article in its home edition by EARL SHORRIS based upon an interview of the Ramparts staff which read in part as follows:

> "Nine months later, the first issue of Ramparts was published. A statement of editorial policy appeared on page 3: 'Ramparts presents creative works which, besides possessing literary excellence, possess the Christian vision of man, his world, his God.
>
> "'Ramparts demands no special slanting of thought ...'"
>
> "Ramparts, the former Catholic literary magazine, very possibly means everything it says, but it frequently is unable to say what it means.
>
> "There is some craftsmanship involved in constructing a paradoxical sentence, like this one in a Ramparts book review:
>
> "'The author has constructed a rationale contending that the freedom of women consists of freedom from domesticity, subjugation to men and opportunity to work in the world of men upon equal terms.'"
>
> "The magazine has taken a strong position against the war in Vietnam. Articles have been published in Ramparts that other magazines would not touch. Its exposure of the clumsiness of American actions in the war in South Vietnam justifies the existence of the magazine. Occasionally, however, it is a victim of its own hysterical self-righteousness.
>
> "Robert Scheer, writing in the December 1965 issue, tells us, 'The United States has made the decision to use whatever firepower it takes to win in Vietnam.' He does not say who told

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

"him of this decision, which implies the possible use of nuclear weapons. A few paragraphs later, in the same article, he writes, 'The admiral suggested that if civilans chose to live in areas controlled by the Viet Cong, then they became the enemy.' Suggested? The implications of the statement are staggering when one considers that the greater part of South Vietnam is supposedly controlled by the Viet Cong.

"The July 1967 Ramparts claimed the Pentagon has contingency plans to invade Laos and North Vietnam, and the magazine listed its sources as 'two sober young men of the international voluntary service and a much too sober brunette with a pouting mouth' at a Vientiane party.

"EDWARD M. KEETING himself led the hysteria. Speaking about Ramparts, he said, 'Muckraking is too gentle a word to use. I prefer such things as hell-raising, blistering. It's sort of reflected in my own lectures. I no longer call them lectures; I call them harangues. When I call for the impeachment of the president of the United States, I'm not beating around the bush.'

"The editors of Ramparts are confident of their own virtue, so confident they are able to dispense with objectivity. 'We're as subjective as time,' said Keating, 'but we're at least consistent.' Editor Hinckle said, 'I don't believe in this 'on-the-other-hand' stuff. People write in and ask us to print the other side. We tell them no, we're not a debating society. We're not reasonable. Answers about Vietnam are reasonable, they're also insane.' Art director Dugald Stermer, part of the triumvirate (with Hinckle and Scheer) that runs the magazine, is upset by the suggestion

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

that the magazine might be objective. 'Some people say we don't tell people what to think,' he said. 'That's baloney, we do.'"

"Hinckle first made his mark as a journalist when he was the editor of his college newspaper, the University of San Francisco Foghorn. In a year, he changed the newspaper from a standard page size to a tabloid, ran it $20,000 into debt, and dubbed it 'San Francisco's fourth daily' though it was published only three times a week. A faculty member recalled his career:

"'He was a fantastic editor. He had all kinds of expense accounts.'"

"After graduating from USF, he went into the public-relations business, becoming a partner in the firm of Barth, Hughes, and Hinckle. In 1961, he ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, basing his campaign on the ugliness of freeways and the poor location of Candlestick Park. He lost.

U

"Hinckle went back to journalism two years later, becoming a reporter on the San Francisco Chronicle, where he was often assigned to cover stories involving the Catholic Church. They described him then as 'a bit of a snob and politically conservative.'

"While working at the Chronicle, Hinckle also worked at Ramparts. Keating had fired him after the first issue, but took him back six months later because he needed a promotion director and Warren, he said, 'had a genius for promotion.' It was Hinckle who urged Keating to turn the magazine into a monthly and lower the price from $2 to 75 cents a copy. At that time, Hinckle took a leave of absence from the Chronicle to work full time at Ramparts.

3/3/[illegible]

STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

"RAMPARTS, the literary magazine, had 2,551 subscribers. It was a leisurely operation. The changeover (October 1964) issue was traumatic. The special issue was called 'Mississippi Eyewitness.' But racism in America couldn't do it for Ramparts. The world did not gasp when they daringly told how Negroes lived in slums and suffered from discrimination, disease and poverty, it wasn't exactly a scoop.

"They were looking for some social issue that would give them as much publicity in the national media as they had got with their defense of Hochmuth's 'The Deputy,' when Robert Scheer began to free-lance for them. Scheer - 'our resident intellectual,' according to Hinckle - had the cause: Vietnam. He also had the political sophistication the magazine was lacking. After graduate work in economics at Berkeley, he had become a member of the center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which served as a kind of finishing school for him. The magazine sent him to Southeast Asia and he came back with the goods.

"From the time Scheer joined the staff, Ramparts has been crusading against the war in Vietnam. Their reports have made national news several times. There are many publications editorializing against the U.S. role in the Vietnam war, but Ramparts took its position early and stayed with it. While its effect on public attitudes cannot be measured, there is no doubt it has had some effect. To some it seems a gadfly to the public conscience.

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

'In March 1965 Hinckle, executive editor, began listing himself as Warren Hinckle III; his name appears that way on the masthead now. Keating's money was gone by then: the magazine he had expected to cost $10,000 a year had cost him $800,000. 'The well ran dry,' he said. 'When that happens, you have got to get irrigation from another source.'

'Hinckle turned for help to Generalists, Inc., in May 1965. The consulting firm has two members: Dr. G.M. Feigen, a prominent San Francisco proctologist, and Howard Gossage of the advertising firm of Freeman and Gossage. The New York Times has called Gossage 'the Socrates of San Francisco,' he is the inventor of the Beethoven sweatshirt and once toured the country in the company of a kangaroo to promote an airline, which is where the resemblance to Socrates ends. Gossage is a handsome man, clean-shaven, well-shod and blessed with an abundance of almost white hair.

'Gossage, who describes himself as 'a general expert' is less involved in the magazine than Dr. Feigen, whose interests include painting, sculpting, ventriloquism, psychiatry and the cultivation of one of the world's great mustaches. The need for firms such as Generalists, Inc., which is still on retainer to Ramparts, is explained by Dr. Feigen: 'When a man sees an architect, he always gets a building, but he may need a divorce.'

STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

Generalists, Inc., told Ramparts not to drop its connection with theology, and for a time it continued to proclaim itself a Catholic magazine; the official announcement of Ramparts' renunciation of the Catholic label appeared in July 1967 as part of a wry comment in Hinckle's 'Apologia' section. The Generalists also became involved in personnel and fund-raising problems. Gossage told them that advertising corrupts magazines that depend on it. He advised them not to worry about advertising at all until they reached 250,000 circulation and could charge enough for advertising space to offset the cost of selling it. Everyone agreed the magic number became 250,000.

"By the middle of the summer of 1965, the magazine was in dire financial shape. The pressure was beginning to tell on Keating. He was nervous, easily angered· every issue was an emotional as well as a financial crisis. Hinckle was checking with the Chronicle to make sure they were still holding his job open. New people continued to be hired. Gossage brought Dugald Stermer, a designer, from Texas. Stermer's originality and visual wit suddenly gave the magazine style. Hinckle and the other editors were delighted. Hinckle, now says, 'The thing that makes Ramparts what it is is much more a presence of style than substance.'

'There was pressure from every area to change the structure of the magazine. Scheer summed it up: 'When we had a lot of money, confusion didn't hurt. When there was less money, we had to formalize it.' In the August 1965 issue, there were snapshots of the staff members with handwritten comments. Beside Keating's picture it said, 'The man next to the panic button is Ed Keating. He runs Ramparts. He hasn't pushed the button yet, but we're waiting.'

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

'Sometime in early autumn the transfer of power occurred. Though Stermer, Keating and others recall the incident, none remembers the exact date. Perhaps it was as late as November. A major investor, Frederick C. Mitchell, had been located in Berkeley. He was willing to put $100,000 (and eventually much more) into the magazine, with strings. His investment counselors wanted stock for the money, and the men who interested him in the magazine wanted him to demand that control of it be given to Hinckle. The stock was no problem, and neither was Keating. He was tired and beginning to get bored. The magazine had become 'a big pain in the neck' to him. Politics was more interesting. Since the 1964 elections, he had been thinking about running for Congress. He finally decided to enter the Democratic primary, and Hinckle began to run the magazine.

Robert Scheer also entered the primary, running against incumbent Jeffery Cohelan, a Johnson liberal. Both Keating and Scheer campaigned against the war in Vietnam. Both were able to get more than 40 per cent of the votes. Scheer said he is thinking about running for the U.S. Senate. The Community for New Politics is the cadre for his future campaign organization.

"Keating, who said after his defeat that he did not plan to run again for public office, is currently an announced candidate for the 11th Congressional District seat vacated by the death of J. Arthur Younger. His chief opponent may be Shirley Temple Black.

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

"Last April Keating decided the magazine 'had no adequate financial program' and that something had to be done about it. Hinckle and the majority of the board of directors took an opposite view. According to Hinckle, Keating and the three Keating appointees who comprised the business staff were costing the magazine $100,000 a year. The board met and Keating was voted out.

"Ramparts is born each month out of the tension that exists between Hinckle and Stermer, the stylists, and Scheer, Stern, consulting editor Paul Jacobs, Don Duncan and the others who think the content of the magazine is more important that the style. Hinckle doesn't want to publish any of that 'on-the-other-hand stuff', but Scheer was willing to print any word that Bernard Fall sent, because 'He was an honest guy, even though he and I didn't agree.'

"To alleviate the gloominess of the magazine, Hinckle hired Stan Freberg, the creator of several novel ad campaigns and best-selling records, to edit a humor section. Scheer, realizing that the magazine has never published an article dealing with economics, went East last winter to commission work on the subject. The work is apparently still in progress.

"Attitudes in Ramparts vary from month to month. After publishing Jessica Mitford's hatchet job on Ronald Reagan, the editors put together a California politics issue in which they called Reagan 'an intelligent, though naive, conservative.' Although the magazine took a 'vote no for governor' position, the focus of their attack was on former Gov. Pat Brown.

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

'If Ramparts has a political position, it is not clear to its editor. 'There is nothing revolutionary in our positions,' said Hinckle. 'They aren't that different when you really analyze them from the nation or the New York Times.' He also said, 'Our greatest enemies are the liberals. In a sense we are part of the new left; it's basically a moral position, an immediate position without a program. We have too much faith in the people and too much disdain for the institutions to give up the idea of changing them and letting the pros take over.'

"The goals of the magazine differ, depending upon which of the principals is speaking. Scheer thinks it is 'an attempt to extend the dialog to points of view not published in the mass media.' Dr. Feigen relates his work on the magazine to healing.

Hinckle has yet another view: 'Ramparts has broken with the style of intellectual and left-wing publications. We have the impudence to say that what we do can change things, and we're not afraid to be commercial. We're as slick and commercial as we can be about the whole thing. We insist on dealing with society on its own terms, which are crass and commercial.'

Ramparts has been crass and commercial. It has often been more exhortative than informative, but it has also produced some exciting reporting on Vietnam, the city of Oakland and conservation or the lack of it in America. The magazine joined every other publication in America in belaboring the Warren Report, but Sol Stern's uncloaking of the CIA was brilliant, effective reporting. If Ramparts may have overstated the number of children who have been casualties in Vietnam, it is a small criticism children have been burned and killed.

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

> "The financial problems that have plagued Ramparts for most of its five years may be coming to an end. With 120,000 subscribers and as many newstand sales, the cost of printing has dropped to 11 3/4 cents a copy. The magazine is now grossing between $10,000 and $12,000 a month from advertising, although it has no formal program for solicitation. The April issue, the last one for which the accounting has been completed, was the first to show a net profit. Hinckle has slacked off on his fund-raising activities.

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APPENDIX

1

INDEPENDENT PRODUCTIONS CORPORATION (IPC)

According to the records of the Division of Corporations, Los Angeles County Clerk's Office, the Independent Productions Corporation is a California corporation formed September 18, 1951, for the purpose of producing and distributing motion pictures.

An informant advised on May 4, 1961, that the Independent Productions Corporation's first and only film to date has been the controversial firm, "Salt of the Earth", and that the principal figures behind the film were MICHAEL WILSON, HERBERT BIBERMAN, and PAUL JARRICO, who were, respectively, the writer, the director, and the co-producer of the film. All three of these individuals have been identified in sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as having been members of the Communist Party in Hollywood. The Independent Productions Corporation has not produced any films since "Salt of the Earth".

The IPC no longer maintains an office and has become completely inactive.

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459
EJO/sea

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

1. "The World Federation of Democratic Youth brought into being the International Union of Students, which held a meeting in Prague on August 17-31, 1946. The administration and direction of this project was entrusted to a 17-man executive committee, of whom 12 were known Communists." Also cited as one of the "long-established Soviet-controlled international organizations" which speak identical lines of propaganda and stand together on all phases of Soviet foreign policy and which has "affiliated organizations in the United States, which consequently have also been turned into instruments in the 'peace' campaign."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 271 on American Youth for Democracy, April 17, 1947, p. 13, and House Report 378 on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 77.)

2. Cited as being among "international Communist fronts ** functioning at the present time."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 93, also p. 59.)

~~SECRET~~

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist -oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself. ~~(S)~~ u

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B.DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.(u)

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966 that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, had indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft. ~~(U)~~ ~~(S)~~ u

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967(u)

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.(u)

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.(u)

83x

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

SF 157-459

San Francisco, California

February 16, 1968

Title	RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C REGISTRATION ACT
Reference	Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated and captioned as above at San Francisco, California

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

84

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SECRET

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 2/19/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-70748) (P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS-C;
REGISTRATION ACT
OO: San Francisco

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, dated 1/2/68.

Enclosed herewith for San Francisco:

One xerox copy of article captioned "The Commercial Thunder From the Left", printed in Los Angeles Times WEST Magazine, August 27, 1967. This article concerns Ramparts Magazine, and persons who have been associated with it.

One copy of channelizing memo of SA GILBERT G. BENJAMIN captioned "Southern California Conference to End the War in Vietnam, IS-C," dated 9/27/67, concerning a meeting held on 8/9/67, of the planning committee for the SCCEWV.

b6
b7C
b7D

On 1/24/68, [redacted] advised that records available to him disclosed that [redacted]

On 1/25/68, [redacted] telephone number [redacted] advised [redacted]

REC- 25 100-445393-110

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (Encl 2) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles

ANC/jas
(6)

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DATE 1/8/80 BY

3 FEB 23 1968

INT. SEC.

On 2/2/68, [redacted] advised that the names of the two men were [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] advised that he had no additional information. He was requested to treat this inquiry confidentially. b6 b7C b7D

On the basis of information received from [redacted] [redacted] agency checks were made relative to [redacted] and [redacted] with the following results:

On 2/9/68, and 2/13/68, IC [redacted] ascertained there was no identification record for [redacted] and [redacted] respectively at the Los Angeles Police Department.

On 2/9/68, IC [redacted] ascertained there was no identification record for either person at the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office.

On 2/13/68, SE [redacted] ascertained there was no information available regarding either person at the Los Angeles County Traffic Violations Bureau or at the City of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power. b6 b7C

On 2/8/68, and 2/14/68, IC [redacted] ascertained at the Registrar of Voter, Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, that records of currently registered voters did not include a registration for either [redacted] or [redacted] respectively.

On 2/9/68, IC [redacted] ascertained that the Retail Merchants Credit Association of Los Angeles had no record of [redacted] but did have a record since 1962 for one [redacted] whose address in July 1962, was [redacted] [redacted] The credit report reflected that [redacted] [redacted] The credit report reflected his employment as unknown.

b7D

Enclosures are being furnished San Francisco for information. In connection with the channelization memorandum, [redacted] on 9/19/67, advised the Los Angeles Office that the Southern California Conference to End the War in Vietnam, (SCCEWV) took place on 8/19/67, at Los Angeles State College, Los Angeles; that among resolutions passed was one calling for an immediate end to the war and the bringing home of the troops.

LA files contain report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated 6/16/67, at San Francisco in case captioned Ramparts Magazine Inc., IS;C, Registration Act (OO:SF). That report reflects that the June 1967, issue of Ramparts magazine lists WARREN HINCKLE III as Editor and on the Board of Directors.

The article from WEST magazine, a copy of which is being enclosed for San Francisco refers to WARREN HINCKLE III as Editor of Ramparts. He is identified as 28 years of age.

b6
b7C

Los Angeles case-file 25-79414 concerns case captioned [redacted] et al, SSA, 1948 (OO:NY). Pertinent information in this Los Angeles file is available to San Francisco Office, SF file 25-29179.

On 9/21/66, [redacted] furnished the Los Angeles Office with a leaflet entitled "Statewide Conference on Power and Politics", which was distributed prior to the conference. This leaflet reflects that sponsors include WARREN HINCKLE and that the Statewide Conference on Power and Politics was initiated by Californians forLiberal Representation, (CLR).

b7D

> The CLR is self-described in its literature as "an effective organization for liberal thought and action". Its literature reflects "From its inception, CLR was selective and pledged support only to those candidates who we believe by their past record and by their announced view point would be champions of civil rights, civil liberties and would peace. We then raised campaign funds, lent organizational assistance

and provided precinct workers for the candidates we supported". This organization claims to have made a contribution to politics in the State of California.

b6
b7C

Los Angeles indices had no record of [redacted]

Los Angeles files contain a copy of a booklet of 128 pages, entitled "A Vietnam Primer" published by the editors of Ramparts Magazine. This copy is being retained in the Los Angeles files as it is assumed that San Francisco Office has a copy.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA: Will complete investigation set out in referenced letter.

NAL FORM NO. 10
1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

FROM : A. Rosen

DATE: February 16, 1968

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Shroder
1 - Mr. Raupach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan

SUBJECT: "IN THE SHADOW OF DALLAS: A PRIMER ON THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY" PUBLISHED BY "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

In the memorandum M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop dated 11/6/67, (copy attached), it was indicated that "Ramparts" Magazine as an inducement to obtain subscriptions, offered either a copy of the captioned book or one called "A Vietnam Primer." The captioned book was described as a newly-revised collection of exclusive articles on the assassination and its aftermath which were taken from the pages of "Ramparts." It was recommended that a copy be obtained for reference purposes and review.

A copy has been obtained and reviewed. It contains nothing new and is nothing more than a rehash of old allegations made against the Warren Commission. The editors of "Ramparts" refer to individuals, whom we are well acquainted with, such as Edward J. Epstein, Mark Lane, Leo Sauvage, Penn Jones, Jr., Harold Weisberg and others who have been severely critical of the Warren Commission and its findings.

It was indicated that the serious criticisms of the Warren Commission recently made by the previously listed authors, cannot be resolved unless evidence is released. The editors are referring to material retained in the National Archives. The editors also said responsibility for the mounting doubts, theories and their confusions, must be placed first with the Warren Commission and with the President who has the power to invoke a new investigation and release the necessary evidence. Further, the Warren Commission compromised the truth about the assassination and that the Warren Commission also has done [illegible] country an enormous disservice.

12 FEB 26 1968

100-445393

NOT RECORDED
199 FEB 27 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-109060

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CONTINUED - OVER

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The editors indicated there seemed to be two conspiracies in connection with the assassination. One was to murder the President and the other was to cover up the blunders of various Federal and State Agencies which made the assassination possible, and to present the public with a panacea.

In this respect, the editors indicated the previously mentioned individuals were doing the job the Dallas police, the FBI and the Warren Commission should have done in the first place. This is typical of the approach "Ramparts" has taken, as well as William W. Turner, the former Agent and a self-centered, embittered individual, who has made subsequent scurrilous attacks upon the Director and the Bureau since his dismissal from the FBI. "Ramparts" revealed that Turner directed the field investigation for this report. We know that in recent weeks Turner has been closely associated with New Orleans District Attorney James C. Garrison, and information concerning Turner was previously furnished to the Department by communication dated 1/23/68.

The editors of "Ramparts" are pursuing the theory there were at least three assassins firing at President Kennedy and that he was caught in a crossfire. They feel there is persuasive evidence to this effect and, therefore, feel that a thorough re-investigation should be launched with full resources of the U. S. Government and private citizens at its disposal to discover the identity of the three or more assassins, and the identity of those who planned the crime and ordered its execution.

This is the same old line that has been followed by these critics, and they have not offered any concrete evidence to establish that a conspiracy was involved in the assassination. The Warren Commission based on testimony and evidence obtained, concluded Lee Harvey Oswald was responsible for the assassination and no evidence was obtained which would indicate that a conspiracy was involved.

ACTION

It is recommended no further action be taken in connection with the captioned book, and that it be furnished to the Bureau library for permanent retention and reference purposes.

2/21/68

Airtel

1 - Mr. P.D. Putnam
1 - Mr. Thompson

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

From: Director, FBI (100-445393)

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C

Enclosed is a copy of the February, 1968, issue of "Ramparts" which was furnished to the Bureau by the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (ACSI), U. S. Army.

This publication contains an article entitled "How The Pentagon Stopped Worrying And Learned To Love Peace Marchers." This article consists of an analysis of the October 21-22, 1967, March On Washington and was allegedly written by an individual who was serving in an intelligence assignment at the Pentagon during this demonstration. ACSI has advised that it has been ascertained that the author of this article used the pen name of Allen Woode, but investigation to date has failed to reveal the true identity of Woode or whether he was in fact stationed at the Pentagon at the time of the October 21-22, 1967, March On Washington.

San Francisco is instructed to immediately contact established sources and attempt to determine the true identity of the author of this article. Furnish the results of your investigation to the Bureau in form suitable for dissemination no later than 2/28/68.

Enclosure

REC-68 100-445393-11

CWT:jav (5)

5 FEB 29 1968

NOTE:

"Ramparts" is a new left publication which has been extremely critical of U. S. policy in Vietnam. ACSI has requested that we attempt to obtain additional identifying data regarding the author of an article which appeared in the 2/68 issue of "Ramparts" in order that a determination can be made as to whether a breach of security has occurred at the Pentagon.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/18/80 BY

TELETYPE UNIT

The Paul [illegible] on [illegible]

Ramparts

23919

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-11-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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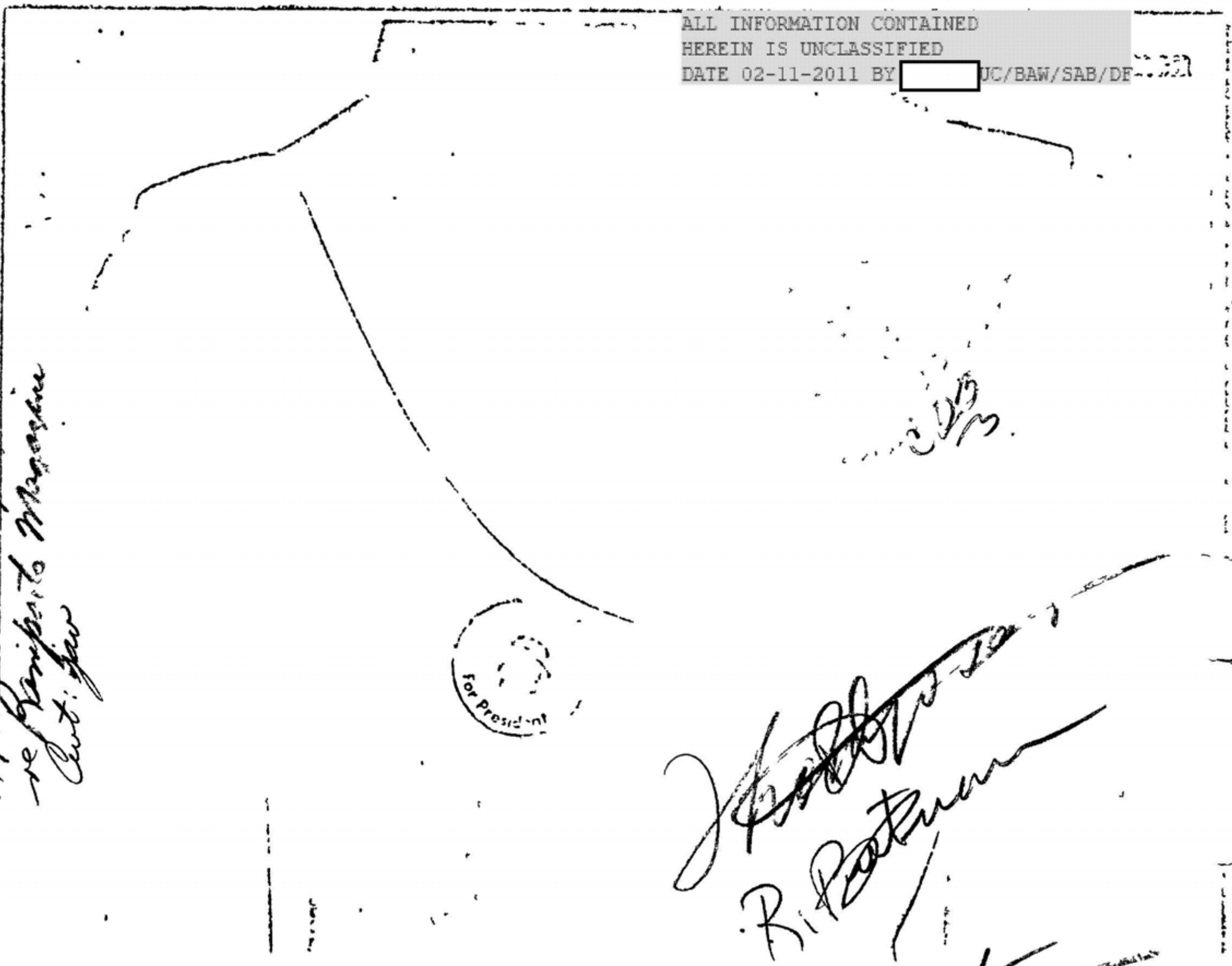

Att SF 2/21/68
re Ramparts Magazine

R. Patterson

ENCLOSURE 100-445393-12

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-11-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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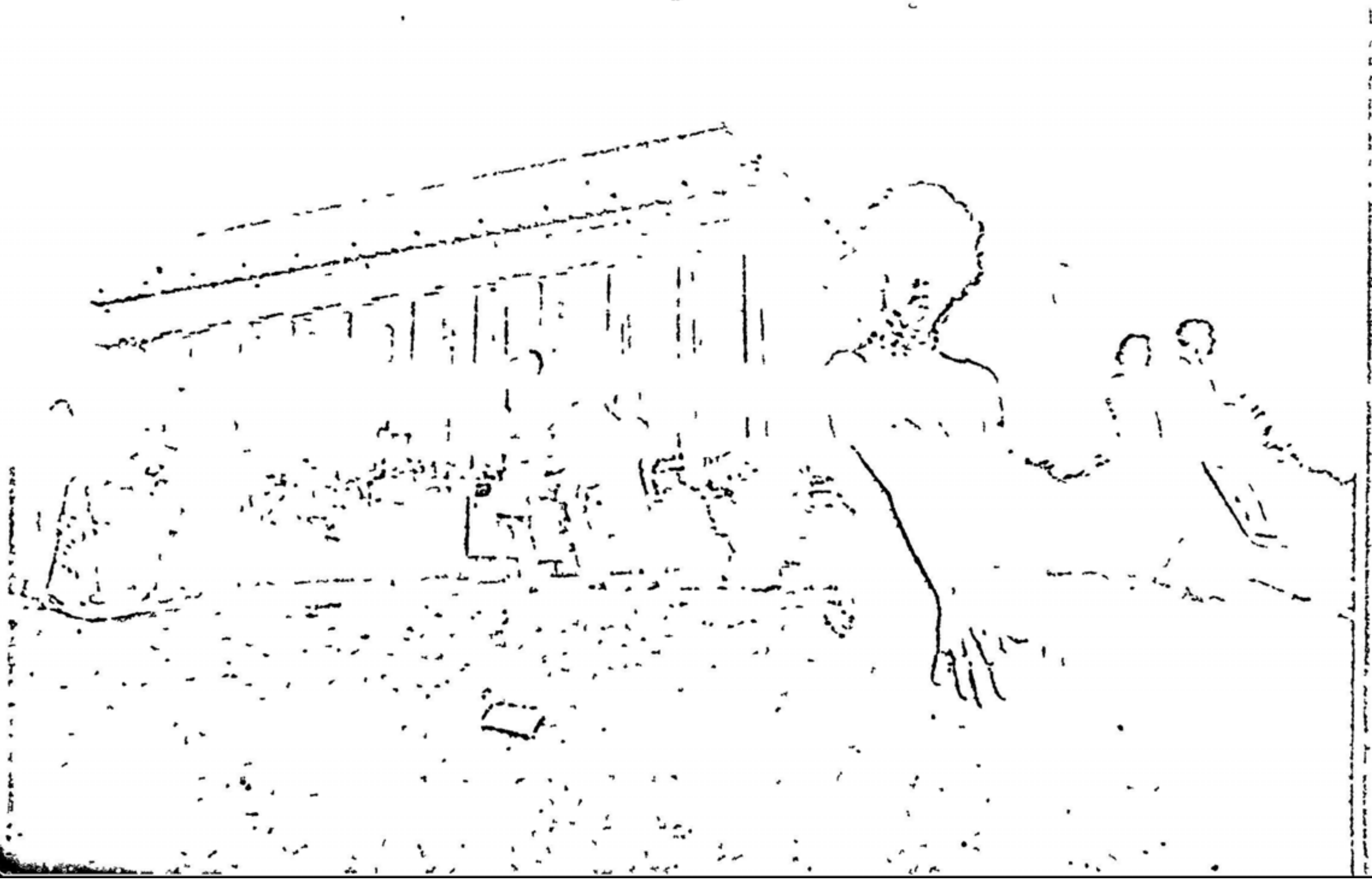
HOW THE PENTAGON STOPPED WORRYING AND LEARNED TO *LOVE* PEACE MARCHERS



EVERYTHING THAT HAPPENED in Washington from October 16 to October 23 was planned in detail by the Pentagon. Everyone who came to Washington that day walked smack into a Pentagon trap.

My awareness of the extent to which the demonstration was controlled by the Pentagon stems from my thorough familiarity with the Pentagon's plans—and the demonstrators'—well before the demonstration. I was, at the time, stationed at the Pentagon in a highly placed intelligence-and-security unit. Our job, essentially, was to observe, report and coordinate information; we had been planning for the demonstration since August, and at Thanksgiving we were still collating reports of arrests. I read several thousand pages of government reports, I knew what was expected of us and of the protesters, and I was appalled to see how neatly the government had the peace movement pegged.

During the demonstration itself, I was stationed at various times in two of the command posts, on the roof, on the press truck, at the mall, with the demonstrators ("observing" in civilian clothes), inside, outside and through the MP lines. I went a lot of places the demonstrators and press couldn't go, and everywhere they could. I had coffee with the marshals. I found out from the soldiers on the line how they really felt about the demonstration—and why they went away feeling scorn for the peace movement. I watched reporters as their moods changed from sympathy to disgust.

Because of my job, I know too much about the war. To help shorten it I want to tell why the confrontation of October 21 backfired, and to outline the change of tactics needed for Pentagon demonstrations that won't backfire.

OBJECTIVELY SPEAKING, PERHAPS the best thing that could have happened on October 21 would have been for somebody to have been killed. For American soldiers to have shot unarmed American civilians exercising their right of free speech would have been a blow from which the administration could never recover. Yet, almost totally, the Pentagon either prevented violence or convincingly argued that the fault was the protesters'.

The Pentagon not only knew what moves were being planned against it; it also demonstrated consummate virtuosity in handling both the protection of the building and the manipulation of news. Since basically the same preparations will be made for future confrontations, it is important to examine them.

First of all, there was intelligence. Intelligence reported that a demonstration would take place. The Pentagon started its overall planning, which became more specific as more EEI (Essential Elements of Information) came in. Basically, the Pentagon found out the date of the demonstration and the approximate number of participants, together with their organizational affiliations, leaders and means of transportation.

This estimate was considerably more accurate than the estimate of the sponsors of the march, since it was based on chats with the operators of nearly every bus company in the United States, visits to the "ride to Washington" bulletin boards of colleges and other gathering places, and religious attendance at meetings of the participating groups.

Although the Department of Defense likes publicly to minimize the danger, and especially to provide low estimates of the number of demonstrators, privately they put some of their best planners and security officers on the job. The planners dreamed; they accepted the mundane and the fantastic. Beginning with a list of every possible move the marchers could make, they outlined the steps required to restore the status quo (which is in all cases what the Army will try to do), and they determined the logistics requirements: how many men, for how long, which units, what equipment.

In Vietnam, this procedure has failed; on the Pentagon lawn it worked perfectly. The Army had the marchers' moves planned for weeks ahead and, because of the massive coordination of its intelligence and communications nets, knew better than any single demonstrating group the plans of every group of participants, from the Michigan busloads to the East Village hippies. The minor details, such as who would try to break in and who would be arrested, were left up to the demonstrators.

At the most obvious level, the demonstration was manipulated from the start by the negotiations of General Services Administration (GSA) counsel Harry Van Cleve Jr, with representatives of the Coordinating Committee. What was not so obvious is that Van Cleve had specific reasons for every requirement and detail he laid down. Briefly, he wanted the demonstration where he could control it; and probably with the unwitting cooperation of the demonstration's leaders, he got it there. The ground was ideal for defense: a high wall separated the mass of demonstrators from the building, narrow approaches prevented a large-scale charge, there was a clear field of observation from the building and ready access for reinforcements by truck or on foot.

AS AN AMUSED OBSERVER of the Pentagon's feverish planning, I have to admit that the Pentagon's main fault was one of excess. We had plans to counteract everything, with minimum visible force (for the benefit of the press) and with a hefty reserve just out of sight.

For public relations purposes, the front line of MPs, except at night and during the clashes, wore the Class A uniform rather than fatigues. It is the usual day-to-day uniform of MPs in garrison; they wear the same thing directing traffic into Arlington Cemetery, except that at the Pentagon they wore helmet liners instead of caps.

We expected civil disobedience in the form of breaking into, throwing rocks at, or painting and defacing anything in reach. We anticipated arrests in numbers quite close to the actual outcome. We accurately estimated the number of demonstrators. In addition, we considered racist violence extremely probable; and we were ready for people who might try to burn themselves to death.

We had the orders, neatly mimeographed: anyone setting himself on fire was to be extinguished with blankets. At convenient locations barely out of sight, blankets were ready. Conferences with firefighting authorities revealed that CO_2 fire extinguishers freeze the victim, and soda-acid types damage the skin. Plain water turns the victim into a boiled frankfurter. Norman Morrison burned himself here, at the river entrance, and caught the Pentagon off guard; it was reported to security officials as "a small fire of undetermined origin." But self-immolation will not upset the Pentagon again.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark was in charge of the security of Washington over the weekend, with Undersecretary of the Army David E. McGiffert having nominal control of the troops. Like all the service secretaries, however, McGiffert is a civilian. The military commander was the commanding general of the Military District of Washington, Major General Charles S. O'Malley Jr. Lieutenant General John L. Throckmorton, commander of the Third Army (much appreciated for his handling of the Detroit riot after the National Guard bungled it) was also in Washington over the weekend. Throckmorton was reportedly invited by the White House to "see if he could lend a hand"; in military terms, he has three stars to O'Malley's two, and he was the man to contend with—as he probably will be again whenever or wherever the President needs protection from his people.

In trucks and jeeps Throckmorton's troops jammed into the Pentagon, beginning some time after dark on Friday. They slept on the floor, on air mattresses, or not at all—creating an exciting and dramatic atmosphere in the usually drab corridors. Field kits, helmets, rifles, tear gas machines (looking like flamethrowers), cases of C rations—everything was there to give us that defender-of-the-castle feeling. At one time or another, there were approximately 2500 men, in addition to the 3000 Pentagon personnel who regularly work on weekends.

Among the extras were the Military District of Washington security force in the Pentagon (MPs who regularly work the Pentagon area, and who probably know more about its geography, secret entrances and gas-susceptible air ducts than anyone else in Washington), Pentagon counterintelligence and security people, and public information officers from the office of the secretary of Defense, working under Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Phil Goulding. Representatives of the Army Photographic Agency provided propaganda coverage,,not to mention, as Arlo Guthrie says, the aerial photography: various military helicopter and aerial reconnaissance pilots passed over from time to time.

With an eye to economy, the Pentagon shipped in forces from such nearby bases as Fort Hood, Texas (the 518th MP Battalion), and the Presidio of San Francisco (70th MP Bn.). Virginia provided elements of the 74th Transportation Bn. from Fort Eustis and the 91st Engineer Bn. from Fort Belvoir. The best-looking troops, remarkably well-disciplined, were from the 503rd MP Bn. at Fort Bragg; they did much of the work at the mall entrance, and as far as I can tell they never slept. Men from the 519th MP Bn. at Fort Dix and the 6th Armored Cavalry at Fort Meade were also seen. About 3000 members of the 82nd Airborne spent their weekend in tents along the runways at Andrews Air Force Base, across the Potomac and considerably south of the Pentagon, where enough helicopters had been assembled to transport them anywhere in Washington, a battalion at a time.

Although practically no one was aware of it, some 25,000 additional troops were denied their weekend passes and placed on alert status from one end of the country to the other. Contingency plans were formulated to airlift them in at the first sign of massive trouble. The nature of this trouble, if it came, was not expected from the peace demonstration, but rather from an anticipated split movement by black nationalists to destroy Washington. With a 60 per cent black population, Washington had squeaked through a nonviolent summer with a great deal more nervousness than it publicly admits. There were military units standing by all through the hot weather, ready to move at the first wise remark to a big white cop.

Logistic support for the Pentagon defenders included more than 500 trucks, buses and jeeps. Finally, a reserve of bulldozers was held at the south post of Fort Myer, for use either in Washington or at the Pentagon if it became necessary to move large numbers of people out of the way.

Not only military personnel protected the Pentagon; there were also the famous U.S. marshals who even scared me. All arrests on federal property fall under their jurisdiction; MPs can detain civilians but cannot arrest them.

Besides the marshals, there were, in larger numbers than usual, the U.S. Special Police, also known as the Pentagon Guard Force or the GSA Police (for General Services Administration). They are the men in blue who carry off most of the demonstrators at small Pentagon get-togethers. They are underpaid, sloppily trained and not to be taken seriously as a security force; but they do carry revolvers, and might be a considerable health hazard if frightened.

D.C. metropolitan police, Arlington County police, Virginia State police and U.S. park police (responsible for national park lands and often seen on the mall riding horses) all participated. Although not under the military chain of command, they established liaison and worked out their respective responsibilities beforehand. The Bureau of Corrections had extra people at Occoquan Workhouse, which they emptied of its regular inmates for the occasion. Also on hand was a supply of prosecuting attorneys and U.S. commissioners to roll out the justice. Lawyers from the Justice Department mingled with the crowds; D.C. police, FBI agents and special agents of the 116th and 902nd Military Intelligence Groups also circulated in the crowd, looking respectively for trouble spots, hard-core communists and threats of violence on a scale to require the services of the 82nd Airborne.

For the most part, the command post was a means of keeping the major commanders alert to what was happening: a sort of glorified telephone exchange. All the major decisions had been made beforehand, and it was the task of subordinate commanders to execute them.

SOME REPORTERS GLEEFULLY mentioned that a map of the District had replaced Vietnam on the "war room" wall. In fact, the map of the District had been there all summer—because of the fear of ghetto riots—and the maps of Vietnam can be found elsewhere in the complex.

The Army Operations Center (or "war room") conjures up an image of diabolical generals sitting at a tremendous table pushing buttons to alter the world's geography to their liking. Actually, it is a suite of connecting rooms, offices and conference rooms in which various Army representatives—logistics, operations, intelligence, manpower and the like—each have compartmented areas. A staggering series of switchboards provides communications potentials which would take a scientist to appreciate: direct lines go everywhere you could want them to. Teletype machines, pneumatic tube systems and electronic data retrieving and processing equipment clutter the tiny rooms, carpeted in ubiquitous Pentagon green.

This is only the Army Operations Center. The Air Force Command Center, the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Military Command Systems Support Center, the Washington end of the Moscow "hot line" and myriad other "nerve centers" in the building were not even operationally aware that anything unusual was up at the Pentagon. The claim that Pentagon procedures were hardly modified—and certainly not disrupted—by the demonstration is entirely true.

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To understand this, you have to overcome a misconception about the Pentagon. Too many people think the importance of the Pentagon is a function of its size. It *is* the largest office building in the world, with more than 30,000 employees, both military and civilian. But most of them are engaged in routine: determining which inductees will go to which schools, contracting for hardware, ordering pencils. Untold numbers are involved in serving each other: working in finance, payroll, supplies; rearranging offices; selling food in the cafeterias; picking up garbage; painting and rebuilding. In the basement there is a complete printing plant which turns out much of the Defense Department's classified literature, and at the south loading ramp the pulping plant shreds the same classified literature and turns it into huge bales of ugly gray sludge.

Behind this bureaucracy is the power of the Department of Defense. The Big Brass, virtually all of it, works within the Pentagon. Decisions are made which profoundly affect national policy; it is this focus of decision, not the building's size, which makes the Pentagon critical, symbolically and in fact.

Yet decisions are never made quickly; nor are there more than a few dozen people in the entire Pentagon who make them. Masses of information are tabulated; studies of appalling complexity and irrelevance are made; plans are set forth to cover, on a global scale, "contingencies." We are prepared: when Monaco attacks Gibraltar, we will know what to do. Contingency planning is a favorite sport here, because no one is wrong until the contingency arrives—and when it does, everyone is too involved with the emergency to blame the planners. I have only seen one contingency plan that approached reality: the one for October 21.

When the world's contingencies are prepared in three-ring binders, and the workers have tabulated everything countable, and the computers whir to a brief rest, everything goes to the decision-makers. In major cases, the President is consulted (or consults them). Otherwise, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who are military, and the Defense secretary's people, who are civilians, try to thwart each other. Finally, somehow, things are decided. This is not a process which a weekend demonstration, or even a week-long demonstration, can disrupt. In any case, an alternate command center, away from Washington, is always ready. Remember that the Pentagon is fully confident of continuing all its essential operations without interruption in the face of a nuclear warhead exploded in Washington.

At colleges and local draft boards civil disobedience can, indeed, throw the bureaucrats into a panic; but to disrupt the Pentagon by aggressive civil disobedience is a project which, viewed in the light of the Pentagon's countermeasures, is laughable. Even if you accept the challenge posed by the Pentagon's elaborate preparations, you end up, sooner or later, in front of a U.S. marshal.

ON FRIDAY, WHEN THE MARSHALS arrived, they were wearing yellow armbands, white helmets and brandishing new billy clubs. By Sunday night their clubs weren't new. One marshal had a streak of somebody's blood that crossed from one side of his conservative business suit to the other.

These men had worked Selma and the University of Mississippi, strikes, riots, every kind of disturbance. Their work is dealing with mobs. They are all professionals; there are no young marshals, no draftees. They're efficient; they're savage; and *they know the people they face are criminals.*

The marshals handled almost all of the clubbing that was done. Their method, however, was one which, from the outside of the line, made it look as though the soldiers were doing the dirty work. For example: on Saturday night, for reasons no one admits to knowing, a press conference was called inside, and the troops started moving outside. Their purpose was to get the demonstrators off the blacktop in front of the mall entrance. The soldiers walked slowly forward, shoulder to shoulder. The demonstrators, if they were standing, were pushed back. Realizing this, many of them sat down. They were stepped over. The marshals moved in after the troops, clubbing people for "crossing the line," and carried several dozen off to the vans. One demonstrator yelled that if you sat still you couldn't be clubbed. He was wrong.

Even if each demonstrator had been armed with a deuce-and-a-half-ton truck, the marshals would have come out ahead. They use their clubs with expertise, and they don't entertain the qualms MPs have about slugging people. Sometimes they hit with the club fully extended, but hardly ever on the head, because clubs are not light weapons. They hit ribs and arms, and heads only when they can't aim properly. Often they *aim* at a shoulder, which effectively puts a demonstrator out of action, but hit the head (if a marshal aims at your shoulder, don't move; you might get hurt). They also have a method of shortening up on the club and jamming the end of it into the solar plexus.

I have to tell you about a girl who was arrested by the marshals on Saturday night. Four of them carried her to the vans, spreadeagled; they had her skirt bundled up around her waist and her legs wide apart because they were trying to put her into two different vans at once. She was a very pretty girl, not a symbol, not a hippie—but concerned, very scared. It was dark then, about midnight.

When the reporters saw this young girl and caught sight of her panties—I heard someone say "Beaver shot!"—they turned their floodlights on and the cameras started whirring. One reporter ran right up there in between her legs to get a good shot. They'd never use the pictures; no editor in the country would print them. They kicked around the darkrooms for a couple of weeks. Laughs.

Getting arrested at the Pentagon isn't pretty. Even the satisfaction of being a martyr was minimal: arrests were processed at the south loading ramp. Ordinarily that's where they process the Pentagon's garbage.

Tactically, arrest was futile. For civil disobedience on a Pentagon scale to be useful, one of three things must happen. You can come in small numbers, be arrested, and follow through merely as moral witnesses. You can come in large enough numbers to make the authorities look incompetent. Or you can show the authorities to be brutal.

This is not as easy as it seems; despite the undeniable bloodshed on October 21, hardly anyone except the participants came away convinced that the Pentagon had used excessive muscle. This was partly due to advance preparation of the press: they were told more or less what the Pentagon had available, and to be so restrained in the use of it was the government's greatest public relations victory. Yet, for the press, the government took it one step further, and actually tamed the marshals for a while.

On Sunday night, when the deadline expired, those who wished to walk to the vans were permitted to do so; and those who refused were carried off with great care. It happened that the vans were loaded directly in front of the press truck.

I was inside the lines, next to the vans, and I could hear the marshals grunt to each other, "Don't throw him, be careful." The order had obviously come down that there was to be no chance for the press to prove police brutality—and there wasn't.

IF THE PENTAGON WAS SHREWD in its handling of the press, the demonstrators were at best indifferent, and frequently contemptuous. Yet many of their leaders claimed that publicity for the cause was a prime reason for the demonstration: something big for the people to see, a step up from hassles with General Hershey's minions at the local boards. A lot of the demonstrators, possibly most of them, hoped to reach the press—and through them the public.

The initial bias of press people I spoke to—who vaguely knew I was "connected with" the Pentagon—was toward cynicism. They knew their material. They were hoping for a bit of violence, because it makes a good story. They were, on the whole, as ready to write about brutal arrests of innocent girls as about the terrible state of American youth, since both make popular reading, despite the fact that the entire fourth estate generally receives from the President and his Defense Department special passes, credentials, admissions, background briefings, off-the-record seminars and periodic wedding invitations. The administration provides untold amounts of ready-made news—and it will be there as a necessary news source when the demonstrators are suburban householders. This demonstration was no exception (with Pentagon press passes). Briefings were helpful, friendly and sympathetic. The authorities outdid themselves to have typewriters, batteries of telephones and every other comfort ready.

Yet, to suppose that the press in general, and the Washington press in particular—men and women whose day-to-day jobs involve listening to an assembly of the best con men in the nation—can be gulled into believing anything the Pentagon wants, is to underestimate the press. They turned their backs on the demonstration not only because of what the Pentagon said, but because of what they saw themselves.

A derogatory label, accurately applicable to the fringes of the demonstration, has been tagged on to the whole affair. The papers tabulated how many panties and bras were discovered all over the Pentagon grass, not how many honest people came, did their thing and left.

Personally, I couldn't care less about a demonstrator's sex life; but he has no business attaching it, like a footnote, to everybody else's protest. And the lovemaking wasn't symbolic, because nobody makes love symbolically. The walls around the place were scrawled with things like, "Johnson fucks." Well, he probably does, but it's not a turn of phrase likely to gather support for his opponents.

Granted that the thousands came purely out of a moral concern. They talked to the soldiers, to the press, to America—and they bored the living daylights out of everyone.

IN A MASS MOVEMENT, the most unexpected thing is individuality. The failure to have one person confront one other person, without the background of tramping feet or chanting in unison, was a major failure of the October demonstration.

I was behind the MP lines during the afternoon, in a relatively quiet spot. The officers and NCOs were maybe 50 yards off, taking a break; nobody was there but those young MPs of the 503rd, shoulder to shoulder.

A girl came over to one soldier and propositioned him in a pretty fair demonstration of barracks language. The gist of it was that if he put down his rifle, she'd let him have it over in the bushes. Of course, none of the soldiers said anything. So, after trying this with several of the boys, she left, calling them all machines and fascists and fairies, and feeling smug.

A Saigon bar girl makes you feel more loved. The girl in Washington was pitting "love"—impersonal—against "war"—impersonal—and ending up with a total failure to communicate. She confused military discipline with inhumanity, and so—*as one of the soldiers who listened to her—I must say that* she didn't give us half a chance.

A more profitable approach would be: Chat. Rap. Relax. *One-to-one offense.* Not the Big One: war and peace. The little ones, you and me. The soldier is wary, but curious, especially if the demonstrator is a pretty girl: "My name is . . . I am here because . . . I have done a few things for peace . . . I remember some demonstrations where the soldiers weren't as fair as your group is." Every decent preacher knows a story beats a lecture; you need his interest before you can change his mind. The soldier knows you'll tell him war is bad. He listens when a pretty girl tells him something interesting about herself.

If I seem to speak mostly of girls, it is because during that weekend I didn't hear one male demonstrator who could keep his antagonism out of it. In any case, the soldier will remain impassive—but watch his eyes. They will tell you whether to go on talking—or whether the man has already reenlisted.

A soldier wants to know a girl's name and address. If you have somebody there who can read Army patches, you may be able to find out where he is stationed. Get the addresses of girls in the area who are willing to spend some times with soldiers, and spread the addresses around (if you live in a big city, you can practice by infiltrating the local USO, an altogether untapped gold mine for discreet young pacifists).

Tell the soldier how to contact you, how to reach you on his free time, or at least how to reach a peace group in the area where he is stationed (remember that he can't write things down out there, and passing written information will cause him grief if anyone finds out; the best time to give out information is when the shifts change).

Do not mistake him for a war machine. Preach, degrade, insult—and you lose. Those MPs had been robbed of their weekend passes; they slept on the floor and the Pentagon cafeterias were put off limits. So many sore feet. Soldiers think in simple terms: *Once you attacked, we knew why we were there.*

THE MAJOR OBJECTION TO AGGRESSIVE civil disobedience at the Pentagon is that the Pentagon knows how to handle it. The goal must be, apart from a simple affirmation of dissent, to catch the Pentagon off guard: to amaze it, shock it, jar it into constructive thought.

Morrison's self-immolation accomplished all of these things except the last; the only thought he elicited was how to extinguish crackpots. Thus another element of the approach: the maneuver must not appear to be that of an isolated extremist. A sense of humor will help, together with style (not more moralizing, for everyone in Washington knows that war is bad;

they have not quite convinced them[illegible], that it is also unnecessary). A successful "attack" on the Pentagon will involve surprise, originality (something left out of the contingency plans) and (for the press) dramatic impact.

Along these lines, my familiarity with the ground and the defending forces has suggested two general approaches, neither of them seriously illegal and neither preventable unless the Pentagon knows in advance the exact time and place of the gesture. For this reason, they cannot take place in conjunction with a major demonstration; in fact, to make surprise possible, these gestures are limited to a few participants. Once they are started, someone should notify every press representative in Washington—with courtesy notification to the FBI and the Pentagon guard office (EX3-7100 and OX7-4151 respectively).

The first gesture might be called the Suburban Napalm Ploy. Well aware of the effect that massive fire can have in the jungle, the Pentagon would probably be stunned by the effect of a little fire in suburbia: specifically, on the access roads which serve the Pentagon. It would take seven expendable autos—the $70 kind that can barely crawl away from the junkyard.

A little advance reconnaissance will tell you when people start leaving the Pentagon; it varies with the season, but the usual time is just before five o'clock. As everyone is leaving, drive into the access roads and have an accident. Then let the car go up in flames.

Have a friend on a motorcycle nearby. Nothing else can leave the scene quickly in Washington's evening traffic. The Pentagon very nearly disrupts itself automatically when everyone tries to go home at once, and a little push would make a big splash. Just one car, abandoned at the "mixing bowl" on Shirley Highway, to the west of the Pentagon, would make a very satisfactory spectacle; but for the perfectionist, here are the seven locations: (1) On the Boundary Channel Road at the corner of the north parking area, near where the speakers' stand was set up on October 21. (2) On the Boundary Channel Road beyond the approach to the river entrance. (3) At the entrance to the bus and taxi lanes running under the concourse. (4) On the roadway between the mall and river entrances, blocking the approach to both. (5) At the west approach to the mall entrance, where the vans of arrested demonstrators departed. (6) At the exit from south parking as it passes under Shirley Highway. (7) At the exit from south parking near the heliport.

The second gesture can be called the My-God-I'm-Patriotic Ploy. At its simplest: Come visit the Pentagon. It's open to the public. Arrive between eight in the morning and six in the evening, Monday through Friday. You can wander through the whole building (except for a few restricted areas, of course).

Variations on this ploy depend on how soon the GSA guards notice your presence. They have a stereotyped impression of pacifists and their appearance, and if you look wrong to them, they will probably try to evict you. At this point you begin to scream about your rights as an American. Know who your congressman is, and demand to telephone him immediately. Call the newspapers. You have the Pentagon in the position of trampling an American's rights, and until you do something illegal you can bring its employees unimaginable publicity and grief. It is hard to imagine, unless you have seen it, the degree of consternation and confusion caused in high Pentagon officials when "obvious Commie rat-bastard pacifists" visit their domain without doing anything illegal.

If you are in the Pe[illegible]on during legal hours, the GSA guards may be told to follow you discreetly and to make no moves until you do something naughty. Just keep walking: walk around corners, use the stairs, step into the men's room (if you're a man) or have dinner in the cafeteria (the food is inexcusable). If you are there with friends, split up and meet back at the concourse later on. You'll lose the guard and he will have the whole force looking for you.

If you find yourself in the building after six o'clock, tell the guards you were lost. Play innocent.

If no one challenges you, you can cause a remarkable disturbance by staying inside the building after security hours—six o'clock—when guards are posted at the gate and passes are required to enter or leave. If you dress sedately, you'll never be noticed. If you look unusual, stay in the men's or ladies' room until after closing.

Since anyone is free to enter before six p.m. and leave after eight in the morning, a range of adventures presents itself. Few of the offices will be locked, so you can paint interesting emblems in them; or you can remove all the furniture; or collect used newspapers, crumple them and fill somebody's office with them. Or, of course, you can simply telephone the guard office and challenge them to a game of hide-and-seek. The possibilities are infinite. All you have to know is that anyone can get into the building during the day, and, with a little imagination, play all night. I would discourage ordinary vandalism; to carry the thing out with humor and style would hit the Pentagon in its weak spot and make the impregnable fortress look as silly as it really is.

The peace movement as a whole has mangled its use of the best ready-made symbol going: the American flag. The flag has a violent effect on the emotions of people who have never thought much about what it means and don't even know what America's foreign policy is. There is no excuse for scorning the flag because of a personal opinion of the thing. If a bunch of people walk down the street carrying the flag, people will feel proud of them. If they burn it people will hate them.

The effect on the press—particularly the photographers—and the public of 30.000 American flags advancing on the Pentagon would be overwhelming. A nice gesture afterward would be to walk to Arlington Cemetery and place the flags on some of those new graves.

And how would it look on television for all those marshals to be clubbing little girls with American flags?

Also: telephones. 30.000 telephone calls would tie up the Pentagon better than 300.000 people on the lawn. The Government Printing Office in Washington sells, for about a dollar, Department of Defense telephone books which have every number you need to know. You may not be able to talk to anyone, but neither will anyone else.

In areas where the police are less well prepared, aggressive civil disobedience may be very effective. But at the Pentagon it is always, inevitably, going to fail. The Pentagon is just too well-prepared.

Of course there's always the moral satisfaction of having participated on October 21. It was a significant moral victory for the peace movement, right?

Remember high school, when the football team scored a moral victory?

It meant you lost the game.

NR 4/25/67

is listed on last page of addendum

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FEDERAL BU IGATION

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REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SAN FRANCISCO	SAN FRANCISCO	10/3/68	2/17/68 - 9/30/68

TITLE OF CASE

C RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

REPORT MADE BY: EDWARD J. O'FLYNN

4/7 19

TYPED BY: cg

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS-C
REGISTRATION ACT

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 6/14/85 amended sealing.

9/27/84
~~CLASSIFIED BY: SP6Bra/CJS~~
~~DECLASSIFY ON: OADR~~
#209641-001

~~5668 SD/DJC~~
4-14-85
Pgs. A only

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 5-13-85 Pgs A only

REFERENCE: Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated 6/16/68 at San Francisco.

5/14/03 CA#02-0603
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ADMINISTRATIVE:

(S) This report is classified "~~SECRET~~" as information accredited to SF T-21, is information received from [redacted] b1

(S) [redacted] classified secret. ~~C~~

~~6-30-80 CLASS. & EXT. BY SP3DB/Slg~~
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~~DATE OF REVIEW 10-3-88~~

SOURCES:

SF T-1 157-459-344

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SF T-2 157-459-326, 331, 345, 351, 361

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~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) BY DATE~~

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☒ YES ☐ NO

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3 - San Francisco (157-459)

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	RAO(ISD),	ACSI, ONI,	OSI	[redacted]
Request Recd.				
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Notations

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SF T-4 [redacted]

SF T-5 [redacted] 157-459-303

SF T-6 [redacted] 157-459-377

SF T-7 [redacted] 157-459-362

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SF T-8 [redacted] [redacted]

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SF T-36 [redacted]

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Special Agents who provided information utilized in this report are identified as follows:

Date of Activity	Special Agent
5/21/65	SA [redacted] et al
10/15/65	SA [redacted]
6/20/43	SA HUGH M. ANDERSON

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LEADS:

**LOS ANGELES

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AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Attempt to ascertain through [redacted] from SF T-5 on 1/24/68 [redacted]

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DENVER

AT BOULDER, COLORADO: Maintain contact with [redacted] [redacted]

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK: An information copy is being furnished to New York because Ramparts maintains an office in New York City and much of the investigation regarding funds has concerned New York banks.

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Copy to:

Report of: EDWARD J. O'FLYNN **Office:** SAN FRANCISCO
Date: 10/3/68

Field Office File #: 157-459 **Bureau File #:** 100-445393

Title: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED

B/a/cls 9/27/84

5/14/03
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CA#02-0603

~~CLASSIFIED BY: Multiple Sources~~
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~~#209641-001~~
~~5668 FTD-DEC~~
~~11-14-84 pgs 20,31,45~~

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis: Ramparts Magazine, Inc., with 72,300 shares of $10 par value outstanding obtained approval of California Commissioner of Corporations on 7/17/68 to issue an additional 122,000 shares. Subscriptions declined from 128,899 for January, 1968 issue to 76,856 for 8/24/68 issue. In letter to subscribers dated 5/1/68 announcing change to bi-weekly publication Ramparts claimed 230,000 circulation. In 3/13/68 news article Editor HINCKLE quoted as stating Ramparts list $1.5 million to reach circulation of 250,000 due to lack of advertising support. Financial contributors identified and loans to Ramparts reported. Editorial and office staffs listed and ~~subversive affiliations~~ set forth.

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~~DATE: 5-13-85~~
pgs. 20, 31, 45
Appeal
82-0382

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~~AND FIELD OFFICES~~
~~ADVISED BY ROUTING~~
~~SLIP (S) BY kel~~
~~DATE 12-2-80~~

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~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~
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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD
OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP
ON 6/4/85 coml'd/SLP/md.

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~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~
~~OTHERWISE~~

Referral/Consult

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SF 157-459
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RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

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DETAILS: PREDICATION

This investigation was initiated to determine if Ramparts Magazine, Inc. is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 in that it has not registered with the Attorney General and may currently be engaged in acts of distribution of propaganda, acting as a political agent, collecting information, forwarding information, etc., while acting as the agent of a foreign principal.

I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES

A. History and Corporate Structure

Stockholders and Stock Transfers:

The records of the California Division of Corporations, 1470 Mission Street, San Francisco, were reviewed by Special Agent EDWARD J. O'FLYNN on April 30, 1968. File Number 92365 on "Ramparts" magazine reflected the following information which was added to the file since the prior review of these records on February 7, 1968.

A petition was filed on February 19, 1968 requesting a change in Escrow holder of "Ramparts" stock, from Gerald C. Vanoli, attorney of San Jose to William D. Evers, attorney, San Francisco.

An application to sell and issue securities was filed on March 27, 1968 which stated that there were 145,100 shares of "Ramparts" stock issued and outstanding. This application proposed the issuance of 7,900 additional shares in cancellation of indebtedness owed by "Ramparts" and the issuance of 2,500 shares for cash.

Name	Shares	Indebtedness
HELEN HECK	2,500	$25,000
ABIGAIL ROCKEFELLER	2,500	25,000
STANELY SHEINBAUM	2,400	24,000
NICHOLAS SAMSTAG	500	5,000
	7,900	$79,000

~~SECRET~~

Issuance of 2,500 shares for cash to ABIGAIL ROCKEFELLER was requested. The recipients of this requested issuance of stock were described as follows:

HELEN HECK,
61 Jane Street
New York, New York

ABIGAIL ROCKEFELLER,
16 Lexington Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts

STANLEY SHEINBAUM,
Center for the Study of Democratic
Institutions, Santa Barbara, California.

NICHOLAS SAMSTAG,
717 - 5th Avenue
New York City,
formerly of Time-Life Magazine Co.

The records of the Commissioner of Corporations, State of California, 1470 Mission Street, San Francisco, California, were reviewed on July 25, 1968. Commissioner of Corporations File Number 92365-SF on "Ramparts" Magazine contained an application filed by "Ramparts" on June 26, 1968, requesting authorization to issue an additional 122,000 shares of stock at par value of $10 per share. This petition reported that 40,800 of the 72,300 shares voted in favor of amending the articles of the Corporation to authorize the issuance of this additional capital stock.

The Commissioner of Corporations approved the above described petition and in an order dated July 17, 1968, removed the Escrow requirements for "Ramparts" stock certificates. The stock certificates issued by "Ramparts" continued to be restricted as to transfer as every certificate contains an imprinted legend which notifies the holder that it is unlawful to sell or transfer that certificate without receiving the prior written consent of the Commissioner of Corporations, State of California.

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B. Circulation and Distribution:

A summary Statement of Income and Expenses for the period of July through November, 1967, filed by "Ramparts" with the Commissioner of Corporations, State of California on March 27, 1968 contained the following Circulation Statistics:

Month	Subscribers	Single Copies Sold	Press Run
July, 1967	121,025	81,287	300,000
August, 1967	123,084	81,170	295,000
September, 1967	116,554	86,942	300,000
October, 1967	123,617	78,216	280,875
November, 1967	130,455	77,879	295,000

(u) ~~X~~ [Source who has access to accurate subscription data advised] that the number of subscription copies mailed by "Ramparts" during the period of July through November, 1967, was as follows:

July, 1967	113,981
August, 1967	No issue printed.
September, 1967	122,515
October, 1967	113,601
November, 1967	105,137
December, 1967	100,199

[SF T-2
August &
December, 1967.] ~~¢~~ u

(U) X [Source advised] that the 1968 circulation trend of "Ramparts" Magazine is as follows:

Month	Subscriptions Mailed	
January, 1968	128,899	
February, 1968	126,119	
March, 1968	(Unavailable)	
April, 1968	123,433	
May, 1968	133,004	
June, 1968	118,720	
July, 1968 - 1st issue	89,399	] 173,364
July, 1968 - 2nd issue	83,965	
August, 1968 - 1st issue	80,012	] 156,868
August, 1968 - 2nd issue	76,856	

(U) X [Source advised] that circulation trend of "Ramparts" is definitely downward following its change to a fortnightly publication which in all probability is due to the increased subscription rate.

[SF T-2
8/30/68.] φ u

A "Ramparts" letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, claimed that it was the largest left of center magazine in the history of the U.S., and has grown in three years from 30,000 to 230,000 circulation. It stated that "Ramparts" had a problem of capital investment and did not have the support of advertisers. It, therefore, solicited the support of individual subscribers to maintain its character of an independent publication. It announced an increase in subscription rate from $8.50 a year to $15.00 with publication twice as often or bi-weekly instead of monthly.

[SF T-3
5/16/68.] 4u

C. Funds:

A balance sheet prepared on January 12, 1968, and a Statement of Income and Expenses, was submitted by "Ramparts" Magazine to the Commissioner of Corporations, State of California, on April 30, 1968. These Statements read as follows:

Balance Sheet Prepared 1/12/68

Assets			
Cash			(64,278.08)
Accounts Receivable			
Subscriber	50,775.95		
Less Reserve for Bad Debts	3,543.32		
		47,232.63	
Newsstand Distribution		44,532.10	
Advertising		30,042.33	
List Rental		25,294.43	
Other		34,766.12	
Total Accounts Receivable			181,867.61
Add costs to be Reimbursed			4,915.15
Prepaid Expenses			41,622.39
Magazine inventory			970.25
Furniture & Fixtures	18,824.98		
Less Reserve for Deprec.	4,180.48		14,644.50
Deposits			2,000.00
Subscriber List			131,179.15
Other Assets			15,833.34
Total Assets			$328,754.31

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LIABILITIES

Estimated Liabilities	13,300.00
Accounts Payable	201,199.20
Payroll Taxes Payable	10,176.09
Notes & Loans Payable	734,680.66
Accrued Interest Payable	13,474.84
Deferred Subscription Income	318,625.25
Total Liabilities	$1,291,456.04

NET WORTH

Capital Stock	1,060,500.00	
Paid in Surplus	36,000.00	
Earned Surplus (deficit)	1,785,984.12	
Profit (Loss) for this Fiscal Year	273,217.61	
		328,754.31

Summary of Income and Expenses for July, August, September, October, and November 1967

	July	August/Sept.	October	Nov.	Dec.
Income	$117,659	$70,697	$87,160	$90,846	$157,761
Expenses	$142,097	$147,155	$147,062	$150,394	$230,633
Operating Loss	($24,438)	($76,458)	($59,902)	($59,548)	($72,872)
Non-Operating Income	$20,000	---	---	---	----
Net Loss	$4,438	$76,458	$59,902	$59,548	$72,872
Circulation Statistics					
Press run	300,000	295,000	300,000	280,875	295,000
Subscribers	121,025	123,084	116,554	123,617	130,455
Single copies distributed	157,712	157,995	169,019	152,869	152,033
Single copies sold	81,287	81,170	86,942	78,216	77,879

~~SECRET~~

	July	August/Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Total Paid Circulation	202,312	204,254	203,496	201,833	203,547
Cost per Copy Printed (total expenses less promotion divided by press run)	40.4¢	45.8¢	44.1¢	46.4¢	54.6¢
Operating expenses	$142,097	$147,155	$147,062	$150,394	$230,633

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The March 13, 1968, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle contained an article captioned "Money Problems, Ramparts Asks Readers For Help" which read in its entirety as follows:

"The fate of Ramparts Magazine, the controversial San Francisco-based monthly, hung in the balance yesterday, with its survival dependent for the most part on the generosity of some 125,000 subscribers.

"Marc Stone, a spokesman for the 6-year-old publication, said a telegram had been sent to each subscriber over the weekend asking for $10 or more to release March subscription copies held in a Denver storage room.

"The first response to our telegram has been gratifying, Stone told The Chronicle in a phone call from New York where editors are trying to drum up new financial support. But whether it can tide us over remains to be seen.

BILLS

"To get the March issue to subscribers, The Chronicle learned, the muckraking journal needs some $12,000 to pay Neodata Services, Inc., of Boulder, Colo., which handles its subscription list. The sum is for postage and past servicing bills.

"The magazine, published in San Francisco but printed in Denver by Smith-Brooks Publishing Company, also owes 'well over $200,000' for printing, the head of Smith-Brooks told The Chronicle.

"They may get the March issue out but we're not going to tackle another one until they're well out of the hole with us, said Fred Vessels, the firm's president.

LOSSES

"Previously, Warren Hinckle III, 28-year-old Ramparts editor, reported that the magazine has lost a total of about $1.5 million to reach its present circulation of 250,000, including newsstand sales.

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"Speaking for Hinckle, who was not available for comment, Stone indicated that the March issue -- with a cover picture of Che Guevara, the Cuban revolutionary -- symbolized the 'iconoclastic bent' that had lost Ramparts advertising and financial support over the years.

"Stone declined to specify whether this included Edward M. Keating, wealthy Peninsula lawyer and founder of Ramparts, who was fired as publisher last year and promptly brought a pending suit against the magazine for $215,028.33.

FUNDS

"We've lost a couple of important and financially significant investors, Stone said. One reason was our position on the Middle East war in which we tried to deal objectively with both sides. Also, our position on 'black power' -- saying that blacks deserve a voice in managing their own affairs -- hurt us tremendously.

"The magazine now needs upwards of $100,000 just to keep things going, Stone said.

"But whatever happens, he added, it remains unheard of in the United States that a magazine of this bent could have lasted so long and achieved such a wide circulation."

The San Francisco Chronicle of March 14, 1968, contained a news article captioned, "Hopeful Note From Ramparts" which read in its entirety as follows:

"Things took a turn for the better yesterday for Ramparts magazine, the muckraking San Francisco-based monthly which has been unable to mail its March issue to subscribers because of money problems.

"We're hopeful now that the issue will be in the mails by the weekend, Warren Hinckle III, editor of the 6-year-old publication, told The Chronicle in a phone call from New York.

"Hinckle, who sent a begging telegram to subscribers last Saturday asking for contributions of $10 or more, said he would make a formal announcement today about the controversial journal's new financial status.

"Details may involve new investors in the publication, The Chronicle learned. The magazine has lost some $1.5 million to achieve its present circulation of 250,000, including newsstand sales."

The March 22, 1968 issue of Time Magazine contained an article in its press section captioned, "Fiscal Limits of Iconoclasm", which read in its entirety as follows:

"The March issue of Ramparts was only part way out last week. Newsstand copies went on sale two weeks ago, but 145,000 subscription copies of the magazine were still piled up at the printers in Denver. Reason: Ramparts had run out of money. The post office wouldn't accept its checks, and its subscription-service company wouldn't produce the necessary address labels until a start was made toward clearning up debts of between $20,000 and $25,000. In desperation, Ramparts sent out telegrams and letters to selected subscribers, asking them to chip in at least $10 a piece. The response was enough so that at week's end the magazines were being labeled and stuffed into mailbags.

"Still, Ramparts is far from rescued. Its overall deficit stands at about $250,000; its editors put the blame on timid advertisers frightened off by the magazine's iconoclasm. This is true in part; its contents encourage people to imagine a CIA operative behind every bush--- or a Kennedy assassin. But Ramparts has had plenty of other troubles. After a furious intramural spat, it ousted Founder-Publisher Edward Keating. Total adulation of the Black Power movement, plus an article blaming the Middle East war on Israel, caused two other wealthy backers of the magazine to withdraw support.

"Trying to recoup, Ramparts is announcing its determination to shake off the yoke of advertising. From now on, it says, readers will have to assume cost of publication. Newsstand price will increase from 75¢ to $1, a year's subscription from $8.50 to $15."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIO

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Date 5/7/68

The records of the [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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The above-mentioned information is considered confidential and should not be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

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[redacted]

SF T-5,
1/24/68. ¢u

On July 23, 1968, [redacted]

SF T-6
8/27/68. ¢u

D. Financial Supporters:

The records of the California Division of Corporations, San Francisco, California, were checked on April 24, 1968. The file on "Ramparts" Magazine contained an application for approval of the Commissioner of Corporations to sell and issue the following securities in cancellation of indebtedness owed by "Ramparts":

Name	Shares	Indebtedness
HELEN HECK	2,500	$25,000
ABIGAIL ROCKEFELLER	2,500	25,000
STANLEY SHEINBAUM	2,400	24,000
NICHOLAS SAMSTAG	500	5,000
	7,900	$79,000

The transferees of this stock were further described in this application as follows:

HELEN CORA HECK

HELEN HECK, 61 Jane Street, New York, New York;

ABIGAIL ROCKEFELLER, 16 Lexington Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts;

STANLEY SHEINBAUM, Center For Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California;

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n. APPROX. 1913-1919 NICHOLAS SAMSTAG, 717 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York, formerly with "Time-Life Magazine Corporation."

[redacted]

who formerly resided at [redacted]

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[redacted]

[SF T-1
5/16/68.]

Mrs. NICHOLAS SAMSTAG, was described as being in his 50's and married to SUZANNE SAMSTAG having previously been married to and divorced from [redacted] He has resided at 1 West 72nd Street, New York City, since May, 1964, and is the owner of a six room cooperative apartment at that address. Mr. SAMSTAG is President of Nicholas Samstag, Inc., 717 Fifth Avenue, New York City which was established about March, 1960 and is actively engaged as consultants on communications. Mr. SAMSTAG has also been described as a free-lance writer.

[SF T-1
5/16/68.]

Mrs. Nicholas Samstag
N.Y.

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM listed as a consulting editor in the September 7, 1968 issue of "Ramparts" is an Economist at the Center For the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, California, and a former campus director at Michigan State University, Vietnam Advisory Group.

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10/26/49.

The May 20, 1965 issue of the Daily Californian, a student newspaper at the University of California, Berkeley, listed STANLEY SHEINBAUM as a speaker on Friday night's Vietnam Day schedule and described him as the designer of the Vietnam strategic hamlets. STANELY SHEINBAUM was one of the speakers at a Vietnam Day Committee meeting on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley on May 21, 1965. SHEINBAUM denied credit for devising the strategic hamlets in South Vietnam and during his speech was critical of American foreign policy based on his five years experience in Vietnam for Michigan State University since 1960.

Special Agent of FBI,
5/21/65.

On October 15, 1965, STANLEY SHEINBAUM was the first of the featured speakers at a meeting on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee's "International Days of Protest". SHEINBAUM was introduced as being with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. During his speech he stated that foreign aid in Vietnam had failed and that 10 weeks previous a major change in U.S. Vietnam policy occurred. He stated that the United States is no longer trying to pacify the peasants or win them away from the Viet Cong, but instead are eliminating them by saturation bombing.

Special Agent of the FBI,
10/15/65.

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E. General Activities:

A "Ramparts" questionnaire for University students was distributed at the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, during the period June 9-15, 1968.

The SDS is characterized in the appendix hereto.

This questionnaire read in its entirety as follows:

"Dear Friend,

Ramparts, plans to publish a survey next September of students' grievances and the likelihood of their acting on those grievances at universities across the country. We're asking you, as a participant in the movement, to tell us what the situation is on your campus and in your community. The following questions are of a general nature. Please be as specific and as detailed as possible in your answers. If you have any available studies or research done, that you consider relevant or of interest, please include it as well. Feel free to include any information not directly asked for. We would also greatly appreciate the names and addresses of any good research people at your campus, who could provide us with further information. In writing an article of this nature we hope to give nationwide attention to your problems that would aid you in your struggle, as we did in the CIA story and the MSU story. You may return any information to Peter Stone or Roger Rappoport c/o Ramparts Magazine 301 Broadway, San Francisco, Calif.

"Does the university play a role in military or paramilitary research? Does it have ties to agencies of the Secret Government? Is it involved in any riot control or domestic counter-insurgency research? Does it sponsor blatantly imperialist programs overseas? Does it lend campus facilities to Army reserve units during the summer?

"What is known of its landholings and investment policies? The composition of the Board of Trustees? If you have any public financial statements, annual university reports or fund raising proposals available, please include.

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"What are its relations with the community-at-large, black and white?

"What political approach are the black students taking?

"How wide is the gulf between campus radicals and the student government? What is the political composition of the faculty? What action do you think each group will be involved in this fall?

"Are there any special factors - repressive politicians, itchy police chiefs, extraordinary student leaders or faculty members - that bear mention?

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"We realize that filling out this questionnaire will take time and energy, but the impact of our survey, we trust, will make your cooperation worthwhile.

"Yours in struggle, Ramparts."

[SF T-7
6/20/68.]

II. OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

The September 7, 1968 issue of "Ramparts" listed the following editorial and business staff:

President & Editorial Director:
WARREN **HINCKLE** III

Editor-in-Chief:
ROBERT **S**CHEER

(u)

Art Director:
DUGALD STERMER

Managing Editor:
LAWRENCE M. BENSKY

LAWRENCE BENSKY

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Senior Editors:
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, PETER COLLIER, FREDERICK H. GARDNER, DAVID HOROWITZ, DAVID KOLODNEY, ELINOR LANGER, GENE MARINE, SOL STERN, WILLIAM TURNER, LEE WEBB.

CALif

Consulting Editors:
NOAM CHOMSKY, G.M. FEIGEN, MAXWELL GEISMAR, HOWARD GOSSAGE, TOM HAYDEN, CARL OGLESBY, STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM, DAVID WELSH.

Stanley Sheinbaum

Copy Editor:
JANIS CHAN CALif.

Military Editor:
DONALD DUNCAN

CALif. Assistant Editors
MICHAEL ANSARA, JOHN SPITZER

John Frappier Staff Writers:
JON FRAPPIER, ART GOLDBERG, MARIANNE HINCKLE, ADAM HOCHSCHILD, STEPHEN SCHNECK, JUDY STONE

(x) u

Advertising/Production Director:
JOHN WILLIAMS

Contributing Editors:
Calif PAUL KRASSNER, Society; JEAN LACOUTURE, Southeast N.Y. Asia; JUDY FEIFFER N.Y. SANDRA LEVINSON N.Y. JACK NEWFIELD, LESLIE TIMAN, New York; RICHELLE DASSIN, Paris; France CALif. MARCUS RASKIN, Washington; JESSICA MITFORD, Oakland, CALif. Germany LOTHAR MENNE, Frankfurt; MONIQUE MAURER, Munich; GERMANY DAN SCHECHTER, SONIA ORWELL, Eng London; HAROLD LIPSET, CALif Criminology; MAURICE ZIETLIN, Latin America; ISRAEL SCHAWARTZBERG, Ombudsman; FARREL BROSLAWSKY, Los CALif Angeles; MAHMOUD ABDEL-HADI, Middle East.

Manuscript Editor:
DEBORAH SAMPSON

Research Department:
Steven Chain STEVE CHAIN, HARVEY COHEN, REESE ERLICH, KATHERINE FLEGAL, ROBERT MANDEL.

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~~SECRET~~

CALIF.

Editorial Assistants:
ANNE DOWIE, KAREN GARRETT, ELLIS GOLDBERG, KAREN KAHN, MARY MORHOFF, BARBARA PATRICK, VAMPIRA.

Assistant to the President:
ANNA WILLIS BETTS

CALIF.

Publisher:
FREDERICK C. MITCHELL

ROBERT KALDENBACH (Controller)
MARC STONE (Associate Publisher)

CALIF.

BERT GARMISE (Circulation Consultant), G.M. FEIGEN (Generalist), ROY TIGNER (Assistant Controller), TUCK WEILLS (Circulation Manager), GUY GRAVENSON (Eastern Advertising Manager), NANCY TIBBON (Western Advertising Manager), ERVIN HILL JR., JEFFREY MARCHANT and LES CARR (Office Men), LESLIE CARR CARRIE WELCH (Telephone Lady), MILLIE ELEY (Bookkeeper), MARGOT LIND (Administrative Assistant), HANNE BLUM (Subscription Lady), LIZ BUNDING (Subscription Lady's Helper).

MARGARET LIND

The following individuals were on the payroll of "Ramparts" Magazine as of July 31, 1968:

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CALIF.

[redacted]

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Calif.

[redacted]

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8/27/68. 4u

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SF T-9
9/30/68. 4u

III STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

"Ramparts" Magazine in a letter dated May 1, 1968 to subscribers soliciting a renewal of their subscriptions to "Ramparts" as a bi-weekly, read in part as follows:

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"Ramparts was the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's '"invisible government"' by exposing the CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

"Ramparts is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States -- indeed, the largest such publication in any English-speaking country. Circulation has grown in three years from 30,000 to 230,000 as Ramparts revived the orphaned American tradition of journalistic enterprise known as muckraking. However, Ramparts' muckraking was of a peculiar contemporary and intellectual style, reflecting the editors' belief that the greatest evils inflicted by man upon man are perpetrated essentially by people of goodwill, acting out of a view of themselves as missionaries to the lesser breeds abroad or at home....

"As Ramparts grew beyond the traditional circulation category of opinion journals and entered into the serious business of influencing American opinion on a mass basis, we found ourselves struggling with the financial problems of a large publishing operation. We also found that our sources of funds were limited in almost direct proportion to the independence of our editorial policies.

"Ramparts is in a crisis today precisely because it has been so effective. As it has broken one explosive story after another and taken unpopular stands on major issues, it has consistently lost both advertisers and investors. We suppose this was only to be expected. If Ramparts is to continually embarrass the Establishment, it is most unlikely that the Establishment will support it....

"It is an experiment that will help change America -- if we can find a proper way to finance it. We rejected out of hand the idea of selling out to any communications monolith on the grounds that while it might be possible for a CBS to own the Yankees without calling the plays, it could not be the same for Ramparts. And you can imagine what Madison Avenue thought of us.

The big advertising agencies were frank about it: we were too tough for their clients. That left us with a continual search -- often a desperate scramble -- to find private investors to support our enormous growth.

> "Let us be candid about our investment situation. Ramparts has never had a '"sugar daddy."' Our first publisher ran out of money quite early in the game and the editors have been dashing about the country between issues for several years now in the elusive search for operating capital.

"We were lucky enough to find many generous people who helped us along the way -- but we also discovered that investors are only human and the man who pays the piper will eventually expect to call the tune. Thus we have lost considerable financial support over Ramparts' sympathetic printing of those outraged voices of the ghetto that few whites can comfortably hear, or because we provided a platform for the disturbing protestations of our alienated youth, or for our insistence on objectively reporting an issue as emotionally charged as the Middle East conflict.

"In short, we learned that the price of taking the cliche '"independent journalism"' literally could very well be the right to go out of business...."

"The new bi-weekly Ramparts -- with greatly expanded coverage of both the American elections and foreign affairs -- will also begin on June 1st. (Details of the new rate structure and our expanded editorial plans are on the accompanying sheet.)

"The editors' decision to escalate Ramparts' position in American journalism reflects their belief that the role of Ramparts is now even more demanding. The removal of Lyndon Johnson as the easy foil for almost everyone has immensely complicated the political situation. It is no longer enough to know what one is against. So in addition to our job of combination watchdog and gadfly, we will utilize our enlarged scope to help formulate answers about what America must stand for.

"The question you will help decide by renewing your subscription now, in advance, is whether America will continue to have a serious anti-Establishment press. But it is also a larger issue — whether freedom can really be exercised in the masss media. This is, indeed, a fundamental question for American democracy -- for without the proliferation of independent magazines like Ramparts there will not be a consistent challenge of our presuppositions nor exposure of our foibles, and the text book description of a free press in America will remain a sham...."

~~SECRET~~

IV. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

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Subversive Affiliations of
Staff Members and Employees

[redacted]

[SF T-9
9/30/68.] ¢ u

The PW is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

[redacted] (¢) u

[SF T-10
3/19/68.] ¢ u

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix.

[redacted] (¢) u

[SF T-11
4/2/68.] ¢ u

~~SECRET~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

LEROY E. CLEAVER
Eldridge CLEAVER

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is Minister of Information for the BPP. He was on parole on April 6, 1968, when he became involved along with seven other Black Panther members in a shoot out with the police in West Oakland. His trial date on the charge of assassination with the intent to commit murder is set for November 17, 1968. CLEAVER is the author of a book entitled, "Soul On Ice", and a guest lecturer on college campuses on racial problems.

CALIF

[SF T-9
9/30/68.]

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

SF T-12
11/3/65 &
12/7/65. ~~c~~ u

[redacted] ~~(c)~~ u

SF T-13
11/6/65. ~~c~~ u

A characterization of the VDC
is contained in the appendix.

Records of the Oakland Police Department reflected that [redacted] was arrested on December 17, 1966 by the Oakland Police Department for interferring with an arrest.

[redacted] ~~(c)~~ u

SF T-14
8/2/67. ~~c~~ u

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] SECRET

b3
b6
b7C

[redacted] born [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[SF T-15
2/15/67.]

A characterization of the PLP is contained in the appendix.

The Berkeley Anti-Draft Union was originated by the SDS in Berkeley during the Spring of 1967.

[SF T-15
2/15/67.]

ERLICH was a member of the Steering Committee of Stop the Draft Week and advocated obstruction and closing of the Armed Forces Induction Center at Oakland, California, confrontation with police and suggested tactics for causing civil disturbances during protests. This information was brought out during an interview of ERLICH which appeared in the November 7, 1967 issue of the "Daily Californian" a University of California newspaper.

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SF 157-459
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b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

A newspaper article appearing in "The State" newspaper on July 15, 1968, a morning newspaper published in Columbia, South Carolina, concerning the UFO coffee-house, indicated that it was the inspiration of a free-lance writer-editor, FRED GARDNER, now associated with "Ramparts" Magazine. Between September, 1967 and April, 1968, GARDNER opened the UFO and two other coffee-houses, one near Fort Leonard Wood and another at Killeen, Texas, near Fort Hood. The article indicated that GARDNER's purpose in starting the coffee-house was to give the soldiers a place to go where they could go and feel free to express their views and discuss the Vietnam War and other topics away from the watchful eyes of the military establishment.

[redacted] u others, ~~A~~ Source advised that in discussions with [redacted] he was of the opinion that the operation of the [redacted]

u~~X~~ source [redacted]

SF T-16
43/68. ~~C~~ u

[redacted] (~~C~~)u

SF T-17
3/27/68. ~~C~~u

5
68
39

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459
EJO:cg

~~SECRET~~

~~ART GOLDBERG~~
ARTHUR GOLDBERG

The August 8, 1966 issue of the San Francisco Examiner, contained an article captioned, "UC Firebrand Out of Jail, Still Militant", which read in part as follows:

"Arthur (Art) Goldberg, a firebrand among the leaders of the 1964-65 University of California Student demonstrations, said yesterday a stretch in jail hasn't mellowed his militant views.

"His thoughts about student movements and society in general have remained unchanged despite a 45 day sojourn in Alameda County's Santa Rita work farm near Pleasanton.

3 APPROX [redacted] "Goldberg, now 24 and a law student at Howard University in Washington, D.C., was released Friday. His 60-day sentence for his leading role in last year's '"dirty word"' crisis on the Berkeley campus had been shaved by 15 days for good behavior, including a voluntary donation to a blood bank. b6 b7C

"Less than 24 hours after regaining his freedom, he came across the Bay and marched in the San Francisco anti-war parade up Market Street, Saturday.

"He described himself as neither a Communist or Socialist but rather as a '"radical who believes that the existing society does not give an equal chance to people from all backgrounds"'.

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] ~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

[redacted]

SF T-14
5/29/68. ~~C~~ u

[redacted] attended a meeting of the [redacted] (~~C~~)u

SF T-11
8/28/68. ~~C~~ u

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459
EJO:cg

~~SECRET~~

HADJI MOHAMMED ABDUL HADI

HADJI MOHAMMED ABDUL HADI in 1963 was suspected by the Thailand Government of making an illegal shipment of 1,000,000 Japanese Yen ($2,777 U.S.) into Bangkok from Hong Kong. HADJI MOHAMMED ABDUL HADI was then residing at Bandung, Java, Indonesia, under the name of Doctor FRANS GRUNECK.

[SF T-18
1963.] qv CALif

HADJI MOHAMMED ABDUL HADI was born May 28, 1899 at Vienna, Austria. He was registered as an intending immigrant to the United States since February 14, 1958, under the Austrian Quota with his wife and two minor children. HADI had become an Indonesian citizen and had embraced the Moslem faith. He was reported to be practicing medicine and specializing in cures of Veneral Disease and Abortions.

[SF T-19
1963.] qv

The September 13, 1968, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle contained an Associated Press article datelined Los Angeles which was captioned "SIRHAN 'Confession' Story Denied". This article read in its entirety as follows:

"The attorney for Sirhan Sirhan has denied a published report that Sirhan would say he shot Senator Robert Kennedy and explain why if his trial received national television coverage.

"Russell E. Parsons, who is defending the 24-year-old Jordanian accused of murdering Kennedy, said Sirhan '"made no such statement."' Sirhan has pleaded innocent.

"The report, published in Ramparts magazine, was written by Mahmoud Abdel-Hadi, an Egyptian correspondent for Akbbar Elyoum in Cairo. He said he had interviewed Sirhan's family, and was told that '"what Sirhan wants is quite simply publicity. He wants the major television networks to be allowed to broadcast the entire trial. If they'd do this, he says he will tell all."'

~~SECRET~~

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b7C

[redacted] was born in [redacted] N.Y. [redacted] and his parents are [redacted]

BLANCHE HOROWITZ was a member of the Sunnyside Section of the Queens County Communist Party in June, 1957. (~~C~~) u

[SF T-20
6/13/57.] ~~C~~ u

PHILIP HOROWITZ was a member of the Sunnyside Section of the Queens County CP in January, 1960. (~~C~~) u

[SF T-20
1/18/60.] ~~C~~ u

On February 21, 1958, the Sunnyside Discussion Group of the Queens County CP held a meeting at the residence of BLANCHE HOROWITZ at 39-07-44th Street, Sunnyside, Long Island, N.Y. and among those present at the meeting was [redacted] (~~C~~) u

[SF T-20
2/24/58.] ~~C~~ u

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b7C
b7D

[redacted] Calif. (S1) (~~S~~)

[SF T-21
3/3/66.] ~~C~~ u

[redacted] was an executive member of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (USC) which source described as a movement committed to the victory of the Vietnamese people against the war of aggression and atrocity waged by the U.S. (S1) (~~S~~) u

[SF T-22
11/17/67.] ~~C~~ u

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

[redacted] [redacted] born [redacted]
[redacted] who resided at [redacted]
[redacted]

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SF T-23
12/2/65.

~~SECRET~~

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b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] was arrested at a demonstration at the [redacted]

[redacted] attended an educational meeting of the [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] (~~S~~)u

[SF T-14
7/23/66.] ~~S~~ u

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

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b7C

[redacted] was arrested by the San Francisco Police Department [redacted] He was also arrested [redacted] by the Greene County Sheriff's Office, Xenia, Ohio, [redacted]

CALif.

[redacted] was one of several persons affiliated [redacted]

SF T-24
8/19/66. qu

A characterization of the YAWF is contained in the appendix.

~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

SF T-25
2/26/68. ¢U

[redacted] attended a committee meeting [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] (¢) u

SF T-14
3/1/66. ¢u

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459
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~~SECRET~~

GENE MARINE

GENE MARINE was one of the guest speakers at the 25th Anniversary celebration of the PW in San Francisco on February 3, 1962. Calif.

[SF T-26 2/5/62.] ~~S~~ U

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman, Southern California CP District; STEVE MURDOCK, Political Editor and AL RICHMOND, Executive Editor of the PW. (~~S~~) U Calif.

In October, 1962, he was offered a job on the Editorial Staff of the PW. (~~S~~) U

[SF T-27 1/5/62; 10/12-30/62.] ~~S~~ U

[redacted] the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs in San Francisco on August 27, 1964. (~~S~~) U

[SF T-28 9/3/64.] ~~S~~ U

A characterization of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of San Francisco are appended hereto.

[redacted] is a current subscriber to the PW. (~~S~~) U

[SF T-29 7/5/68.] ~~S~~ U

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459
EJO:cg

~~SECRET~~
CALif.

ROBERT SCHEER

"Human Events" a weekly newspaper published in Washington, D.C. in its issue of April 8, 1967, in a story captioned, "The Inside Story of 'Ramparts Magazine'", described its managing Editor ROBERT SCHEER as a former member of the pro-CASTRO Fair Play for Cuba Committee. It reported that SCHEER in 1966 ran for the Democratic Party nomination for U.S. Congressman and that his campaign manager was CARL BLOICE, a 28-year-old CP member who for several years had been on the Editorial Staff of the People's World, the West Coast Communist weekly, and had been elected to the National Committee u of the CP.

R APPROX
[redacted]

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CALif.

A source advised [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] (R) u

SF T-30
2/5/68. (¢) u

~~SECRET~~

ISRAEL SCHAWARTZBERG

The July 10, 1968 issue of the New York Times, late city edition, Page 22, Column 3, contained an article entitled, "Fat Tiger Throws A Subpoena at Party". This article read in part:

The above mentioned article reveals that ISRAEL SCHAWARTZBERG was appointed as "Ombudsman Editor" of Ramparts magazine. To celebrate the appointment of SCHAWARTZBERG, WARREN ~~HINCKLE III~~, Editor of Ramparts Magazine, flew to New York City from San Francisco, California, and gave a "subpoena party" at Ratners, Delancey Street, Restaurant. b6 b7C

APPROX [redacted]

This article described SCHAWARTZBERG as a former basketball fixer, swindler, bookmaker, and jailhouse lawyer, at 54 years of age is free after having served a "Ping Pong Bit" (small and light), in Leavenworth Penitentiary.

This article also reveals that SCHAWARTZBERG has served 14 years behind bars and was released last month from Leavenworth where he served 18 months for conspiracy to bribe a witness in a narcotics case.

APPROX [redacted] On March 9, 1966, ISRAEL SCHAWARTZBERG was found guilty in United States District Court, SDNY, on a charge of the crime of conspiracy to obstruct justice and suborn perjury. On March 30, 1966, he was sentenced to prison for two years.

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KANS.

The above mentioned article reveals that invitations to the party were by subpoena framed to appear like the real thing. HINCKLE, 29 years old, President and Editorial Director of the new, left, bi-weekly, said at this party that he had appointed SCHAWARTZBERG to his new post to hear complaints from the people about Government agencies.

SCHAWARTZBERG announced during this party that he would be filing a Federal Court Action on behalf of himself "and thousands of others similarly situated" to get voting and other civil rights for former convicts. He stated that "there was no good reason for it if you've paid your debt to society you should be given back all your civil rights".

~~SECRET~~

Referral/Consult

[redacted]

[redacted] was a member of the CP, USA. (~~S~~) u

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b7C

[SF T-31
10/15/45.] ¢ u

Referral/Consult

[redacted] (S)
(5-3)

[SF T-32
8/59.] ¢ u

House Report #378 of the Committee on Un-American activities described the 7th World Youth Festival as "Communist arranged".

[redacted]

[SF T-33
6/3/59.] ¢ u

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SF 157-459
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[redacted] - [redacted]

[redacted] was born [redacted] at [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] I.F. STONE as a communist and the former Washington correspondent for the "New York Post" the "Nations", "PM" and the "Compass".

[redacted]

[redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] attended the District Convention of the Young Communist League in Philadelphia in June, 1943, and in the session of June 20, 1943 was one of 50 members elected to the District Committee of the Young Communist League, (YCL).

> The YCL has been designated by the Attorney General of the U.S. pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A Special Agent of FBI,
6/20/43.

[redacted] (~~X~~)(u)

[SF T-34
1943.] (u

[redacted] (~~X~~)(u)

[SF T-35
12/10/46.] (u

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

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The "New Left Notes" Volume 1, No. 13, dated April 15, 1966, in an article by MIKE GOLDFIELD entitled, "NAC Minutes", LEE WEBB is identified as a member of the National Administrative Committee of SDS.

[redacted]

[SF T-36
1/24/66.] ¢u ILL.

[redacted]

[SF T-37
4/29/66.] ¢u

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SF 157-459
EJO:cg

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INDEX

b6
b7C

Name	Page(s)
[redacted]	
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[redacted]	

Name	Page(s
[redacted]	
GRUNECK, Dr. FRANS aka Abdel Mahoud Hadi	20,21, 33
HADI-ABDEL, MAHMOUD aka Dr. Frans Gruneck	20,21, 33
[redacted]	

~~SECRET~~

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Name Page

[redacted]

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SF 157-459

1

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

> SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX

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CA[illegible]US VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE, [illegible]
fo[illegible]erly known as the
Vietnam Day Committee (VDC)
Berkeley

~~SECRET~~

A source advised in May, 1965 that the VDC was founded in May, 1965 to organize the May 21-22, 1965 community "teach-in" on the University of California, Berkeley, California (UCB) Campus.

Public literature distributed by the VDC revealed that the purpose of the VDC was to mold public opinion to force withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam and to utilize dramatic, large-scale demonstrations in increasing public alarm about the Vietnam war.

A second source advised on [redacted] whom source identified [redacted]

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b7C

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A third source related on September 29, 1966 that as of September 29, 1966, [redacted]

A fourth source on October 27, 1966 identified [redacted]

Third source informed on April 18, 1967 that the activities of the VDC had been taken over by the Campus VDC, and there no longer was an off-campus VDC in Berkeley. Source related Campus VDC is a registered on-Campus organization with UCB. Source added that for the time being, Campus VDC is expected to remain dormant. However, its name and skeletal organization would be kept alive by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as a "standby organization" to be used only when necessary.

Third source identified [redacted]

Third source on April 24, 1967 identified [redacted]

Third source on February 6, 1967 identified [redacted]

APPENDIX

~~SECRET~~

466

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1.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15, - 18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York, and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the Article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist Line".

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge", a monthly New York City newspaper, and "World Revolution" a quarterly periodical.

The May, 1968 issue of "Challenge", page 23, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level".

A second source advised on May 15, 1968, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York City.

APPENDIX

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
San Francisco Division

A source advised on August 1, 1960, the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on April 16, 1968 that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated by the
Attorney General of the United States
pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

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1

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA) SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised in January, 1968, that the DCA is going to be reactivated in the San Francisco Bay Area, chapters will be organized, the national DCA policy will be followed, and while they will claim they are not a Communist Party (CP) front they will definitely be a part of the CP.

A second source advised in February, 1968, that

[redacted]

b6
b7C

I. Berkeley DuBois Club, also known as Campus DuBois Club

A third source advised that in January, 1968, the Berkeley DuBois Club was approved as a student organization on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley.

II. San Francisco DuBois Club

A fourth source has advised that the San Francisco DuBois Club commenced holding meetings in January, 1968, and continued to do so through February and March, 1968, at a variety of locations throughout the city.

III. San Francisco State College DuBois Club

A fifth source advised that in March, 1968, an "Intent" to organize a club on the campus of San Francisco State College was filed with the Dean of Activities but so far formal application for official approval had not been executed.

APPENDIX

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SF 157-459

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YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
(known in San Francisco Bay Area as
Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance
also known as
Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance,
Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

The source advised April 18, 1968, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The source advised on April 18, 1968, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

SECRET

1.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The National Headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

On October 31, 1967, a second source advised that at the 22nd National Convention of the SWP held in New York City from October 26, 1967, to October 29, 1967, it was stated that the YSA remained as the main recruiting ground for new SWP members.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

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SF 157-4-[illegible]9

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1.

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published monthly, except during the summer, by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can".

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-1229
WAC:cg

APPENDIX

1.

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A confidential source advised on March 29, 1965, that the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), formerly known as the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee, was established by the Workers World Party (WWP) in the summer of 1962, to bring college and high school youth into the periphery of WWP activities and thereby gain recruits for the organization.

A second confidential source advised on October 23, 1964, that a flyer distributed by the YAWF describes that organization as a militant organization of young workers and worker-students for combating war and fascism.

The first source advised on March 9, 1966, that the YAWF maintains its headquarters at 58 West 25th Street, New York City, and publishes a magazine called "The Partisan".

APPENDIX

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UN[illegible]D STATES DEPARTMENT OF [illegible]STICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. SF 157-459

October 3, 1968

~~SECRET~~

~~[illegible]~~

Title : RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character : INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Reference : Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN
dated and captioned as above a
San Francisco, California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

55

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1477091-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 42
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Page 9 ~ OTHER;
Page 10 ~ OTHER;
Page 11 ~ OTHER;
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Page 124 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 125 ~ Referral/Consult;

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Filed 4-1-69

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Callahan

DATE: 2-10-69

FROM : J. B. Adams

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

"Ramparts Magazine," the muckraking West Coast monthly, continues to experience financial problems, as reflected in the attached item from the "Wall Street Journal" of 2-4-69.

According to this item the magazine has gone into Federal court seeking relief under the Bankruptcy Act, specifically an arrangement for both paying its debts and continuing publication.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

None; for information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/21/80 BY

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure
WEC:klb
(4)
1 - Crime Records Division
1 - Personnel File of [redacted]

REC-111

100-445393-14

14 FEB 12 1969

100-445393

56 FEB 18 1969

PERS. REC. UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-14-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF b6
b7C

Ramparts Magazine Files Chapter 11 Proceeding

7/4/69

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

SAN FRANCISCO — Financially troubled Ramparts Magazine Inc., publishers of the monthly muckraking Ramparts Magazine, sought relief under the Bankruptcy Act in Federal district court here.

The concern filed a Chapter 11 proceeding, saying it can't pay its debts as they mature, but seeking approval of an arrangement for both paying its debts and continuing publication. The company listed debts of $3,078,670 and assets of $1,258,858 in papers filed with the court.

By filing for the proceeding, the concern won't be liable to any foreclosure proceeding.

Raymond Aniter, an attorney representing the publishing company, said its problems were caused by excessive publishing costs and said the company intended to cut down on its overhead, especially reducing its use of color printing.

Comment wasn't immediately available from any officials of the six-year-old magazine. Its San Francisco telephone number was answered by a recording that said the number was out of service and added that a new number wasn't available.

ENCLOSURE

100-445393-146

ATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 2/13/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

ReBulet to San Francisco, dated 1/15/69, and report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 10/3/68, at San Francisco.

aw 144

aw 140

Enclosed are five copies of a letterhead memorandum [redacted] Dr. FRANZ GRUNECK who used the alias of HADJI MOHAMMED ABDUL HADI and was born May 28, 1899, at Vienna, Austria. CAL

b6
b7C

The source utilized in the letterhead memorandum is [redacted] who requested that his identity be protected.

b6
b7C
b7D

191170 - 05 -

L FILED

REC COPY AND COPY

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, ~~SEC SER~~, STATE
RAD LISO, [redacted]
DATE FORW: 3/6/69
HOW FORW: (info) r/s
BY: WDS/gaw
cc 924D

ST-105

REC-31

XEROX
MAR 10 1969

3/6/69
LHM sent to [redacted] Rapich (By Liaison)
WDS/gdw
Xeroxing-4

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/10 BY [illegible]

100-445393-147

b3
b7E

3 FEB 17 1969

(2) - Bureau (Encs. 5)(RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO/sms #11
(3)

R

FCMS

PLACE COPY OF letter IN 105-

ENCLOSURE

INT. SEC.

924-7

59 MAR 20 1969

Conroe Nelson

5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

San Francisco, California

February 13, 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE ________ BY

MAHMOUD ABDEL-HADI

The December 14 - 28, 1968 issue of "Ramparts" Magazine listed MAHMOUD ABDEL-HADI as a staff writer in its masthead.

A characterization of "Ramparts" Magazine is attached hereto.

The records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of Northern California, 630 Sansome Street, San Francisco, California, for the captioned individual were checked on October 25, 1968, but no record could be located.

The records of the Central Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., were checked for the captioned individual on November 15, 1968, but no record could be located.

The September 7, 1968 issue of "Ramparts" Magazine contained an article on the interview of the family of SIRHAN SIRHAN which developed SIRHAN's motives for assassinating Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. An introduction to this article described captioned individual as an Egyptian correspondent for "Akhbar Elyoum" of Cairo, Egypt.

b6
b7C

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, [redacted]

The records of the Department of Motor Vehicles, Driver's License Section, Sacramento, California, were checked on December 27, 1968 and reflected that a Class 3 driver's license Number [redacted] was issued on [redacted] to [redacted] who was born on [redacted]

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100-445393-147

ENCLOSURE

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of $15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

" 'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."

1 - Mr. T. P. Druken

SAC, San Francisco (157-459) 3-19-69

Director, FBI (100-445393)

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

The 3-7-69 edition of the "San Francisco Chronicle" which was forwarded by your Office to the Bureau, contains information relative to the financial condition of captioned publication.

You should immediately, through established sources, ascertain details regarding this matter and furnish pertinent information developed to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination. This matter should be closely followed by your Office and the Bureau kept apprised of all subsequent pertinent developments.

TPD:hls
(4) hls

NOTE:

"Ramparts," self described as an "independent liberal magazine of dissent," is published at San Francisco, California. In the recent past it has encountered financial difficulties and the article referred to above contains information relative to a bankruptcy hearing in the Federal Court at San Francisco.

100-445393-148

REC-9

15 MAR 19 1969

MAILED 6
MAR 18 1969
COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [illegible]

54 MAR 25 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-14-2011

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b7C

FBI

Date: 3/11/69

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF ~~class~~
DATE 11-1-80

RB

Transmit the following in (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

Cable Rozamin Rozamin

(U)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [redacted] ~~(C)~~

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK [redacted] (ADM) ~~(C)~~

(U) SUBJECT: [redacted] ~~(C)~~

(U)

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ReNYairtels, 1/9/69, and 2/17/69.

[redacted] C

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[redacted]

[redacted]

(U) [redacted] ~~(C)~~

[redacted]

(U) [redacted] ~~(C)~~ [redacted] ~~(C)~~

(U)

1-CG 929 9+0

APPROVED MAR 18 1969
Date

M. F. Ray
6221 IR

100-445393-

NOT RECORDED
165 MAR 24 1969

3-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-164974) (NYPS) (42) ~~(C)~~
(U) 1-New York
1-Supv. #42

INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

1/21/80 Records

Since copy in 445393

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-G/SC/hc
REASON-FCIM
DATE OF REVIEW 3/11/89

70 MAR 27 1969

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

~~INT. SEC.~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

(U) [redacted] ~~C~~

The source has been in contact with individuals [redacted]

(U) [redacted] ~~C~~

In view of the above, [redacted] b7D b7E

(U) [redacted] ~~C~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 3/25/69

Transmit the following in ________________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)(P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

CBP

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco, dated 3/19/69, rec 148 and San Francisco airtel to the Bureau, dated 1/29/69 rec 145

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum reporting the anticipated bankruptcy (voluntary) of "Ramparts" Magazine.

Activities and accounts of this organization will be followed and reported.

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, ~~SEC. SER., STATE~~
RAO ISD ~~CRT, CD, DIJ~~
DATE FORW: 4/1/69
HOW FORW: (info.)
BY: TPD/gdw

1cc 924D REC 74 100-445393-149

3/28/69
1cc airtel & encl. 924D
TPD/gdw

ENCLOSURE

4 encls destroyed

18 MAR 27 1969

3 - Bureau (Encs. 11)(RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO/sms #11
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY

226

Approved: ________________________ Sent ______________ M Per ________________
Special Agent in Charge

60 APR 8 - 1969

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

March 25, 1969

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED

The Clerk of the District Court for the Northern District of California received a petition on March 4, 1969, from "Ramparts" Magazine under the provision of Chapter XI of the National Bankruptcy Act. "Ramparts" petitioned for a stay of all contracts and suits to allow it to arrange its finances and continue publication.

"Ramparts" in its petition listed its assets and liabilities as follows:

Wage Claims	$ 27,562.65
Federal Wage Withholding Taxes	51,635.58
California Employment Tax	1,481.03
Creditors Holding Securities	4,246,747.83

"Ramparts" subsequently filed with the Clerk of the Court a Cash Flow Projection reflecting anticipated income and expenses for the period through June, 1969. A deficit of $115,000 for operation through June, 1969, was anticipated.

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DATE 7/31/80 BY

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100-445393-149

ENCLOSURE

-1-

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Cash Flow Projection
February-June 1969

	February	March	April	May	June	Five Mont Total
Receipts						
Subscription	23,000	23,000	23,000	23,000	23,000	115,000
Newsstand Income	37,000	20,000	21,000	21,000	22,000	121,000
Advertising	20,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	68,000
List Rental Income	10,000	15,000	15,000	10,000	5,000	55,000
Special Early Renewal-Sub	-	30,000	30,000	-	-	60,000
Expire Mailing	-	-	17,000	-	-	17,000
Book Sales	-	10,000	10,000	10,000	15,000	4[illegible]00
Real Estate Income	10,000	-	-	50,000	30,000	90,000
Cash Available 2/1/69	15,000	-	-	-	-	15,000
Total	115,000	110,000	128,000	126,000	107,000	586,000
Disbursements						
Operating Budget	84,000	82,000	82,000	82,000	82,000	412,000
Legal Fees	5,000	5,000	5,000	-	-	15,000
Pmt to Secured Creditors						
-Subscription Income	23,000	15,000	-	-	-	38,000
-Newsstand Income	37,000	20,000	21,000	21,000	22,000	121,000
Early Renewal Mailing	8,000	-	-	-	-	8,000
Expire Mailing	-	12,000	-	-	-	12,000
Accrued Payrolls & Taxes	45,000	-	50,000	-	-	95,000
Total	202,000	134,000	158,000	103,000	104,000	70[illegible]00
Cash Need-This Month	(87,000) ✓	(24,000) ✓	(30,000)	23,000	3,000	(115,000

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE INCORPORATED (In proceedings under Chapter XI of the Bankruptcy Act)

Monthly Cash Flow Projection March through June, 1969

Receipts:	March	April	May	June	Totals
Subscription revenues, regular	$ 23,000	$ 23,000	$ 23,000	$ 23,000	$ 92,000
special mailings		15,000	25,000	25,000	65,000
Advertising revenue collections	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	48,000
Circulation revenue collections	30,000	12,000	18,000	18,000	78,000
Interest, notes, collections	40,000		50,000		90,000
Book publishing advances		25,000	15,000	10,000	50,000
TOTAL: Operating Receipts:	$ 105,000	$ 87,000	$ 143,000	$ 88,000	$ 423,000
Disbursements:					
Expenditures, as budgeted	$ 79,000	$ 79,000	$ 79,000	$ 79,000	$ 316,000
Special subscriber mailings	16,000				16,000
TOTAL: Operating Disbursements:	$ 95,000	$ 79,000	$ 79,000	$ 79,000	$ 332,000
Cash Available, from Operations:	$ 10,000	$ 8,000	$ 64,000	$ 9,000	$ 91,000
New Investment Funds committed:	40,000	55,000	20,000		115,000
TOTAL: Cash on hand, for the month:	$ 50,000	$ 63,000	$ 84,000	$ 9,000	$ 206,000
TOTAL: Cash on hand, cumulative:*	$ 50,000	$ 113,000	$ 197,000	$ 206,000	$ 206,000

NB:*Excluded from projected disbursements above are $ 80,000 in priority wage and other claims to be paid prior to confirmation of a Plan of Arrangement

Random House Commitments: 20,000 } Payable over next
Bantam Books Commitment: 50,000 } four months

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 4-28-67)

Date 3/26/69

To:
☒ Director
Att.: DIVISION 5
☐ SAC
☐ ASAC
☐ Supv.
☐ Agent
☐ SE
☐ IC
☐ CC
☐ Steno
☐ Clerk

[illegible]E BU 100-445393

Title "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED IS - C; REGISTRATION ACT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-14-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

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b7C

RE: San Francisco airtel and LHM to Bureau, 3/25/69

☐ Rotor #:

CB/P

Should hold
gdw

T/l gdw

INF. SEC.

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge
☐ Assign ____ Reassign ____
☐ Bring file
☐ Call me
☐ Correct
☐ Deadline
☐ Deadline passed
☐ Delinquent
☐ Discontinue
☐ Expedite
☐ File
☐ For information
☐ Handle
☐ Initial & return
☐ Leads need attention
☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case
☐ Prepare lead cards
☐ Prepare tickler
☐ Return assignment card
☐ Return file
☐ Search and return
☐ See me
☐ Serial #
☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return
☐ Send to
☐ Submit new charge out
☐ Submit report by
☐ Type

Handled per airtel 3/28/69 gdw

Attached for the Bureau are 11 copies each of two financial statements for "Ramparts" Magazine. Please attach them to referenced San Francisco LHM

REGISTERED

SAC CHARLES W. BATES

Office SAN FRANCISCO

____ See reverse side

(SF 157-459)

GPO : 1968 O - 306-085 (5)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REC 21

pgs 34, 35, 37, 38, 39

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SAN FRANCISCO	SAN FRANCISCO	4/18/69	10/1/68 - 4/10/69

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
O RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.	EDWARD J. O'FLYNN	cab
	CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C REGISTRATION ACT	

REFERENCE: Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 10/3/68, at San Francisco.

au 140

- P* -

ST-100

REC 21

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "CONFI~~DEN~~TIAL" as information furnished by SF T-1 through SF T-7, if divulged, could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

~~34~~ ~~35~~ ~~37~~ ~~38~~ ~~39~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/21/80 BY

(re SAC Dolan)

38 Cards

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

5 - Bureau (100-445393)(RM)

3 - San Francisco (157-459)

100-445393-150

REC 8

R 21 1969

Deleted Copy Sent [redacted] by Letter 4-14-76 Per FOIA Request eqr

1-27-77 mmt

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report	
Agency	ACSI, OSI, ONI, RAO/ISD
Request Recd.	[redacted]
Date Fwd.	(By Liaison) 4/28/69
How Fwd.	(info)
By	TPD/gho Icc 924D

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b7E

Notations

NO DISSEMINATION
SPECIAL RESTRICTIONS APPLY
SEE TOP SERIAL

closing

67 MAY 8 - 1969

SF 157-459
EJO/cab

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	File Where Located
SF T-1 is [redacted] (Conceal by request)	
SF T-2 is [redacted] (established source)	
SF T-3 is [redacted] (Conceal by request)	
SF T-4 is [redacted]	
SF T-5 is [redacted] (Established source)	
SF T-6 is [redacted]	[redacted]
SF T-7 is [redacted]	

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of: EDWARD J. O'FLYNN **Office:** SAN FRANCISCO
Date: 4/18/69

Field Office File #: 157-459 **Bureau File #:** 100-445393

Title: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis: "Ramparts" filed a petition for voluntary bankruptcy on 3/4/69. [redacted] The history of financial and factional struggle for control of "Ramparts" set forth. Identity of financial supporters and projections for continued operation set forth from bankruptcy records. "Ramparts" [redacted]

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b7C

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909DJ/kl
ON 4-28-78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Declassification DPJ/smm
DATE 6/3/78

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SF 157-459
EJO/cab

b6
b7C

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[redacted]	34,38
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[redacted]	35
[redacted]	38
[redacted]	38
[redacted]	6,9,10,12,13,15,16,19,20,21,22,38,40
[redacted]	38
RABINOWITZ, VICTOR	39
[redacted]	38
[redacted]	40
[redacted]	12,34,39
[redacted]	14
[redacted]	39
[redacted]	44,45
[redacted]	12,13,14,15,35,39,41
[redacted]	39
[redacted]	3,6,7,8,10,11,12,13,14,21,40
[redacted]	6,19
[redacted]	12,39,41
[redacted]	20

SF 157-459
EJO/cab

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Resignation of Warren Hinckle, President and Editorial Director 2

Factional Struggle for Control of "Ramparts" . 6

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Petition in Bankruptcy Under Chapter 11 of National Bankruptcy Act 21

Financial Supporters 33

II. OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, AND EXECUTIVES 40

III. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS 42

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DETAILS:

PREDICATION

This investigation was initiated to determine if "Ramparts" Magazine, Inc. is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 in that it has not registered with the Attorney General and may currently be engaged in acts of distribution of propaganda, acting as a political agent, collecting information, forwarding information, etcetera, while acting as the agent of a foreign principal.

I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES

A. History and Corporate Structure

Proposed Offering of Public Stock

Source advised that "Ramparts" Magazine had contacted several accounting firms in the San Francisco area for the purpose of conducting an audit of their records covering the last three years. "Ramparts" desired that a certified statement of accounts be issued preparatory to making possible offering of "Ramparts" stock. Source stated that the accounting firms were reluctant to accept this audit because of the poor condition of "Ramparts" financial records and the possibility that "Ramparts" might go into bankruptcy. It was felt that if "Ramparts" went into bankruptcy after the issuance of stock to the public, that the purchasers might bring suit against the auditing firm alleging misrepresentation of financial condition and falsely inducing purchases.

SF T-1
10/1/68

Resignation of Warren Hinckle,
President and Editorial Director

The February 8, 1969, issue of the "Guardian," self-described as a new left radical weekly publication, contained an article captioned, "Ramparts Hits the Barricades" by ART GOLDBERG, datelined San Francisco. U

ART GOLDBERG is listed on the masthead in the April, 1969, issue of "Ramparts" as an Assistant Editor.

A characterization of the "Guardian" is contained in the Appendix.

This article read in its entirety as follows:

"Ramparts magazine is still alive. Its key editorial people, including editor-in-chief Robert Scheer, art director Dugald Stermer, and editors David Horowitz, Peter Collier and David Kolodney are still with the magazine as is the large majority of its staff.

"This directly contradicts reports in the New York Times and San Francisco Chronicle, but it is true. Ramparts, as usual, is in serious financial difficulty, but in many ways its future prospects seem good.

"The current confusion began when Warren Hinckle resigned as president and editorial director of Ramparts Jan. 29. Before he officially resigned, Hinckle informed the New York Times of the action he was taking, then flew back to San Francisco to inform the directors of Ramparts. Hinckle also told the Times that the staff of Ramparts was going to start a new magazine with him. He implied that Ramparts was dead.

"The directors of Ramparts did not agree with Hinckle's assessment that it would be impossible to keep the magazine alive, and voted to continue to publish Ramparts. The staff, likewise, although it was several paychecks behind, showed no inclination to jump into a new magazine.

"In the past few months, there had been dissatisfaction among the staff about the way Ramparts was being run. This was true of outside contributors as well as those working in

W

the San Francisco office. As a result, the staff formed itself into a union to push for, among other things, a more regularized pay schedule, greater voice in editorial policy, and an improvement in working conditions (i.e., a less chaotic environment with fewer arbitrary decisions).

"Undemocratic

"One reason for the decline in staff morale was the undemocratic way decisions were made. As both president and editorial director, Hinckle controlled the finances, and had final say on all editorial matters. It was not unusual to find issues torn apart at the last minute or stories drastically changed.

"The basic idea behind Ramparts was to bring radical and left ideas to a public not normally attracted to radical journals. To accomplish this, a certain amount of promotion and sensationalism was thought necessary. Ramparts articles on Vietnam, and the CIA involvement there, played a role in building the antiwar movement.

"After a time, however, the promotional approach began to have diminishing results. Style was sometimes valued over editorial content. People were sent off around the country on stories that were never used. Missed deadlines resulted in lost money that no amount of publicity could make up. Money was often spent unwisely (it cost the magazine $50,000 to send 36 people to Chicago for the Democratic convention and to publish five issues of a wallposter there). It became more difficult to raise money to meet Ramparts' yearly deficit.

"Some actual and potential financial helpers of Ramparts withdrew their funds because of

a

the magazine's stand on Israel (generally pro-Arab) and its positive attitude toward the Black Panther party. Other potential investors wanted the magazine to support Sen. Eugene McCarthy, but it refused.

"As the money pressures built up, Ramparts tried to become a biweekly. This worked for a time, but it slowly began to have an adverse effect on the editorial content.

"Early in January, Hinckle left for New York in an effort to raise the money to keep Ramparts alive. He told the directors that he was unable to raise the necessary amount, but had been able to raise enough to start a new magazine, with the same staff, a different name (Barricades), the same Ramparts format, but without Ramparts' past debts.

"That was rejected by the board. It was felt that Ramparts had a large and loyal group of readers who had supported the magazine in the past, and that it had a national reputation for provocative journalism that was worth preserving.

"The board felt that if Ramparts could cut down drastically on production costs (less color and slick paper), lower its administrative costs, go back to a monthly schedule and eliminate some of the expensive practices that Hinckle favored, it had a good chance for survival.

"It was decided that Ramparts would enter voluntary bankruptcy to give it time to reorganize and raise new capital. The bankruptcy proceedings would dissolve much of the past debts while permitting the magazine to publish.

"Editorial decisions are expected to be made by an editorial board drawn from the editorial staff. 'I hope we can run this magazine more like a collective,' Scheer said.

(The author is an assistant editor of Ramparts.)

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Factional Struggle for Control of "Ramparts"

The Thursday, March 27, 1969, issue of the "San Francisco Bay Guardian," a weekly newspaper of general circulation distributed principally in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area, contained an article captioned, "Ramparts-Revolution With Limousine Services," by IVAN ~~SHARPE~~. This article was based upon an interview of FREDERICK C. MITCHELL, 29 year old publisher of "Ramparts." and a review of "Ramparts" Petition in Bankruptcy. This article read in part as follows:

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> "This clash of styles vividly splashed forth last August at the Chicago Democratic Convention: Scheer (Robert Scheer, Editor in Chief) in the streets with the demonstrators, Hinckle (Warren Hinckle, III, President and Editorial Director) high above in the Ambassador hotel before a television set. It promted an irrevocable split between Scheer and Hinckle (who, with art director Dugald Stermer, were Ramparts' ruling triumvirate) and touched off events leading to Hinckle's resignation and final tour de force.
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> "Mitchell (Frederick C. Mitchell, Publisher) calls it 'a horror story.' Hinckle's idea was to produce a daily wall poster for the National Mobilization Committee. Only a handful of editorials were ever produced and demonstrators promptly accused Ramparts of blatant self-promotion. Hinckle's entourage entertained with gusto in roisterous all-night parties in an Ambassador Hotel suite. Total Chicago bill: almost $15,000.
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> "Mitchell said disgustedly: 'Cronies from the Times were hanging around carousing and boozing it up while people were having their heads cracked down on the streets, people more or less our allies, the people we were leading on, writing about and writing for.'

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"Says Scheer: 'It was like having two magazines. I went out on Michigan Ave. and got teargassed and clubbed and I never saw Warren for three days. His style there was offensive to me.'

"Hinckle retorted with characteristic barroom blunt: 'F___ the New Left,' adding incredulously, 'I was supposed to go out in the streets and watch that shit?'

"In house dissent had long been as much a Ramparts constant as had the magazine's dissenting editorial stance. When Scheer raked the Vietnam coals, Hinckle complained the magazine was getting too political. When Hinckle then wrote about 'women power,' Mitchell and Scheer thought he was silly and shrill. 'I was overseas at the time,' Scheer told me. 'Had I been here, it wouldn't have run.' For Hinckle, many staffers lamented, a story wasn't a story until it could command a full page New York Times ad.

"'Ramparts was one big, crazy deal,' said Hinckle in our interview. 'We were always broke and staving off disaster. It was one mad, zany thing after another. The staff wanted serious political analysis, but I didn't give a damn. It would still be something like the Berkeley Barb if it had been left to them.'

"Scheer said less forcefully: 'There was always tension in Ramparts between Warren's cynicism and the people who were serious in their political concern. Warren is very much the big city news reporter, pragmatic and cynical, believing that basically the world is corrupt and nothing can change that.'

"Mitchell leaned to Scheer's views. 'I think we'd like the magazine to be exciting and vital --whatever that means--but rather more analytical and less concerned with tub thumping.'

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"Whatever Ramparts is now or will become, Ed Keating doesn't like it. Keating, 42, is bitter and angry, not unreasonably so since he and his wife poured all the money they had, about $800,000, into it. Hinckle forces then ousted him even though he held some 47 per cent of the stock.

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"'Since I left,' he said, 'all it's done is lose people, lose writers, lose circulation and lose the important thing I had going for that magazine. And that is integrity. I'm ashamed of the magazine and I want nothing to do with it.'

"The Atherton attorney, emphasizing everything he said could be quoted and that he would enjoy nothing better than a good libel suit, bored in: 'I hope Hinckle gets what he deserves and that Scheer gets exposed.'

"Hinckle, he said, was an 'insecure opportunist.' Scheer, who Hinckle had hired 'over my violent protests,' is an 'exploiter' and a 'predator.' Scheer had a saying at one time: 'Join Ramparts and become a celebrity.'

"Keating talks with a blunt relish for expletives that rivals Hinckle's. Both are Catholic and, as a mutual observor commented, have in them 'the poisons of piety.'

"Keating, aristocratic, wealthy and Stanford-educated, and Hinckle, caustic, flamboyant, a legend as the Foghorn editor at USF who threw typewriters against the wall, called his thrice-weekly paper the 'city's fourth daily' and ran up $20,000 a year bills, met a year before Ramparts' first issue.

"Enter disagreeing

"Hinckle then was the anchorman for a one-room public relations outfit called Barth, Hughes and Hinckle, Keating recalls:

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"'His proposal on how to launch Ramparts was so ludicrous, so embarrassing and so pathetic I had to fire him. He wanted to hold a giant cocktail party in New York attended by a two-bit actress called Rita Gam.'

"Hinckle then reported for the Chronicle where, despite his colorful shirts, suspenders, Edwardian clothes and a roistering Irish image, he was considered a snob with a scornful disdain for civil rights demonstrators.

"When Ramparts began publishing a five-times-a-year 'quarterly,' Keating brought Hinckle back as a part-time, $125-a-month promoter. It was a 'gargantuan mistake,' Keating now says.

"Ramparts had 2,551 subscribers in October, 1964, when Hinckle persuaded Keating to publish a monthly and lower the price from $2 to 75¢. Hinckle left the Chronicle on a leave of absence. Keating realized he was going to run out of money by early the next year, but he felt he couldn't, and wouldn't, try to raise it himself (though staffers tell humorous stories of how Keating spent a day with Steve Allen at poolside at Allen's house in Encino, but couldn't bring himself to ask him for money, and how he went to see Playboy's Hugh Hefner...).

"Crack in the door

"But Keating was no money raiser and so, his fatal flaw coinciding with his fatal mistake, he put Hinckle to the task.

"Even Keating admits Hinckle had an amazing knack for raising money: 'an instinct like a weather vane to point where the money is,' as Keating put it.

"Meanwhile, Mitchell, then a graduate student at Cal, had wandered onto the scene like a lost

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lamb. He liked Ramparts, he wanted to invest money and so Hinckle and adman Howard Gossage 'seduced him up in the firehouse,' as Keating put it. They persuaded Mitchell to put in $100,000, saying it would be used to loosen Keating's control of the magazine. Gossage had been brought into the magazine by Hinckle for promotional help. His spiffy offices on Pacific St. are housed in an old SF firehouse.

"Says Keating: 'We were so close to closing down on Thursday or Friday that, honest to God, if Mitchell's money hadn't come in that weekend we'd have had to close the doors on Monday.

"'They threw a deal at me that was the most vicious thing I have ever seen in my life. Hinckle and the people around him smelled blood. I had an option to see that magazine close on Monday morning or give up vast amounts of money....

"'Hinckle pulled a power play. He said, look, Mitchell is not going to put any money into this magazine so long as you're running it. He said Mitchell thinks you're crazy. The only way he will put money into the magazine is if I run it.'

"And out the other

"Keating, defeated, despairing and staggered at the coup's audacity, was forced to accept Hinckle's terms. His name remained on the masthead as publisher, but his power was reduced and Hinckle and Scheer were left in editorial and financial control of the magazine. Mitchell didn't know it then, but his $100,000 was used immediately to pay debts and 'we were broke again,' as Keating put it.

"A few months later in February, 1966, Hinckle was planning to move the magazine's offices from

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Menlo Park to lower Broadway in San Francisco--without bothering to consult or notify Keating. Hinckle had arranged the lease, paid the first month's rent and organized the move. The magazine was broke again and Keating, when he discovered Hinckle's plans, angrily called the bank, stopped payment on the check and threatened to fire Hinckle.

"'There was a big scene,' I was told, 'and Keating caved in to Hinckle and from that moment on Keating was out of the operation and Hinckle was in full control.'

"The magazine grew slicker and brighter, **withthe** help of the immensely talented Stermer, and it rocketed to national fame on its major stories: U.S. Catholic involvement in Vietnam, the Vietnam Lobby, the Michigan State University project, CIA involvement with the National Students Association. They were largely produced by Scheer through his New Left contacts and the research he did in 1964 on a Vietnam pamphlet for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara.

"The first to speak

"Scheer had been a politically liberal economics student at the University of California, Berkeley, but was known among radical contemporaries as 'the Red-baiter,' the anti-communist. His attitude began changing after a trip to Cuba in 1960 with a student group. His book, 'Cuba an American Tragedy,' criticized the U.S. for mistaken judgments on Cuba.

"Then, shortly after Diem's overthrow, Scheer went to Vietnam on a Center grant. What he saw in Cuba and Vietnam began to form a pattern for him.

"'I realized I had been overly influenced by the Cold War and had underestimated the U.S. as an imperialistic power,' he told me. Scheer's Center report was the first major critique of U.S. involvement, formed the basis for many Ramparts esposes and launched him as an articulate New Left spokesman.

"Circulation rocketed past 200,000, but expenses kept pace and Hinckle and his editors had to 'dash about the country,' as he put it in a publisher's note, to keep new capital flowing in. It did come in: from Mitchell (up to $500,000); from SF advertising executive Louis Honig (at least $100,000); from retired inventor Irving Laucks of the Center in Santa Barbara ($50,000); from the Center's Stanley Sheinbaum and the key source on the MSU story; from Hartford, Conn. businessman Richard Russell and an unpaid Ramparts financial adviser ($369,580 and some regular profits from a New England shopping center in an enormously complicated real estate deal); from Harvard social science instructor Martin Peretz and Singer sewing machine heiress Ann Farnsworth, later married ($574,000); from Abigail Rockefeller Hohoc ($15,000); from Ross socialite June Oppen Degnan ($50,000); from SF businessman and strong McCarthy supporter Henry Dakin ($10,000); from a mixture of wealthy liberals and radicals in San Francisco, New York, Atlantic City, Los Angeles, Boston.

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"Nothing was madder than the money-raising at Ramparts. Associate publisher James Colaianni raised $20,000 from an electronics executive on an LA golf course. Hinckle chased a millionaire in Mexico City, but he skipped to Europe. Russell put together headswirling deals to nourish the cash flow.

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"When Ramparts printed a daily newspaper during last year's newspaper strike ('absolute madness,' screamed Controller Bob Kaldenbach), Mitchell was forced to pay astronomical bills out of his own pocket. 'Thank God the strike ended before we did,' Mitchell told me. And through it all Hinckle rolled up tidal waves of expenses ('I was the teat Warren was sucking on,' Mitchell later told me.)

"Free to come and go

"In early 1967, Hinckle was ready to move Keating out of the magazine completely. Keating in effect already had 'given away' the magazine because, at Hinckle's urging, he had transferred $174,000 of his own stock to key staff members. The breakdown: Hinckle $100,000; Stermer $25,000; Scheer $15,000; then controller Joseph Ippolito $25,000; Gossage $4,500, and Gossage's associate in a PR firm G. M. Feigan $4,500.

"This stock transfer dropped Keating's equity to a fatal 47 per cent. Hinckle also had stacked the Board of Directors with his men ('The Board of Directors was a seduction scene,' Keating said. 'When Hinckle and Scheer had a pigeon, they put him on the board. We don't want your money, we want your love.')

"(Honig was subtly induced to invest $100,000, Keating said. 'Honig came into Ramparts because of his ego hangup. Hinckle has an instinct for this. He knew how to stroke Honig.

"('Honig had an idea for a novel in which he would set forth his solutions to the Vietnam war. So Hinckle and Scheer brought in an alcoholic, ex-reporter to try to ghost the thing. They spent thousands trying to inflate the ego of Bill Honig.')

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"The spiral downward

"Meanwhile, Russell, Peretz and the eastern backers began putting some pressure on Hinckle for financial accounting and budget controls.

Hinckle stiffened and announced to Scheer, Stermer and Colaianni that he was embarking on a new fund-raising trip to raise money to get out from under the Eastern block.

"His friends on the magazine told Keating that Hinckle was moving in, but Keating couldn't believe it. 'Maybe I was too close or maybe I wasn't strong,' he said later. 'I couldn't fight on a certain level.' At least twice in earlier days, he called Hinckle in to his office to fire him, but Hinckle left with more authority. In later days, Keating wasn't permitted to see Hinckle's salary after it went up from $15,000 a year (to $25,000) or check mounting expense vouchers.

"With Hinckle out of town, with Keating about to go, with expenses piling up, Colaianni, promotion manager Don Rothenberg 51 and then controller Henry Marchman went to Keating to propose a coup of their own; reinstate Keating as publisher in fact, relieve Hinckle of power. Keating agreed and the four set about convincing Russell, a hard-headed businessman and the key director, to go along with the plan.

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"Russell called Hinckle, and appraised him of Keating's move. It's them or me, Hinckle told Russell. Russell flew to San Francisco for the critical showdown with Keating and, during a marathon session at the Jack Tar Hotel, listened to the catalog of complaints--mostly financial and administrative--against Hinckle.

"Not a thing you've said isn't true, Russell concluded. But if we lose Hinckle, we lose Ramparts. Hinckle is Ramparts. We feel we can mature Hinckle. Russell wouldn't budge from this position and he said he spoke for a majority of the directors. Keating the founder, $800,000 investor and holder of 47 per cent of the stock was through.

"Keating's attorneys drafted a complaint against Ramparts and, after it was shown to Honig and other principals, through attorneys, a settlement was reached with Keating. The terms: Keating was to get $340,000 in monthly payments over a 10-year period and about $30,000 in a down payment.

"He's gotten about $60,000 so far. Significantly Russell personally guaranteed the money, but only if the magazine survives. Obviously, an incentive for Keating to make no waves.

"'Those guys hated Keating,' Hinckle told me. 'They thought he was an idiot and a bumpkin.'

"Retorts Keating: 'Hinckle betrayed me and betrayed everything I believed in...he wouldn't have done it alone.'

"At Hinckle's suggestion, Mitchell later abandoned a thesis he had been writing at the University of Kansas...'What became of the Aztec aristocracy after the Conquest of Mexico?' --to join Ramparts as senior editor. Soon, Hinckle confronted him with another financial crisis and he plunked in more money.

"The magazine's financial state worsened (after the foolish strike daily, the magazine later went bi-weekly, increased losses to $34,000 a month) and Hinckle was in New York desperately trying to raise money.

"In January, after the staff had not been paid for weeks, despairing of absentee leadership, Mitchell and the staff demanded that Hinckle return from New York for a board meeting. It was put off, at Hinckle's request, but he finally agreed to be present for a meeting on Jan. 29.

"Hinckle arrived at 11 p.m. and asked the board to accept his resignation because he wanted to make an announcement, but not as company officer. His attorney motioned him outside. Hinckle returned and asked to be reinstated.

"'Oh, what's going on, Warren,' Mitchell asked. 'What's the big mystery. OK, you're reinstated.'

"The announcement: if $400,000 couldn't be raised that evening, Ramparts was out of business, bankrupt. The only merciful thing was to fold the magazine summarily, not allow it to linger as a disgrace to the left.

"For once, Hinckle's move was anti-climactic: He had leaked the story to the New York Times when he was in New York, but the first edition reached the board meeting in San Francisco before Hinckle did.

"Hinckle, the story informed the directors, was going to start a new magazine, Barricades, he had raised $250,000 to do it with, he was going to take the staff with him.

"Yes, the board would accept Hinckle's resignation from the magazine. No, it wouldn't go bankrupt as Hinckle wanted and clear the decks for his new magazine. Hinckle assembled the staff the next day and gave them the pitch, but almost everybody decided to stay with Ramparts.

"Hinckle's old office now is called 'Warren Hinckle's People's Lounge.' Mitchell, now the publishing boss, says he thought about moving into it, but finally decided against it. 'I don't really believe much in the symbols of power,' he said.

"Then Mitchell, the only man Keating says he feels sorry for, added: 'I'd like to have either

> a central role here or essentially none. I don't want to hang around.'
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> "The man who didn't have a story until it was worth a page ad in the New York Times would smile at that."

B. Circulation

Source advised that the 1968 circulation trend of "Ramparts" Magazine is as follows:

Month	Subscriptions Mailed	
January, 1968	128,899	
February, 1968	125,119	
March, 1968	(Unavailable)	
April, 1968	123,433	
May, 1968	133,004	
June, 1968	118,720	
July, 1968 - 1st issue	89,399	[173,364
July, 1968 - 2nd issue	83,965	
August, 1968 - 1st issue	80,012	[156,868
August, 1968 - 2nd issue	76,856	

SF T-2
10/1/68

Source advised that subscriptions mailed during the period October through December, 1968, were as follows. Source advised that the dates indicated below do not necessarily coincide with the issue of "Ramparts" during this period when it was published bi-weekly but refer to the completion or job date in connection with the production and distribution of "Ramparts."

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Job Date	
October 20, 1968	66,447
October 26, 1968	66,801
November 17, 1968	66,801
November 30, 1968	66,801
December 5, 1968	71,781
December 14, 1968	71,781
December 20, 1968	67,772
December 30, 1968	67,772

SF T-3
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"Ramparts" in compliance with postal regulations, published a statement of ownership, management and circulation, dated October 11, 1968. This statement contained the following statistics on circulation and distribution:

Extent and Nature of Circulation	Average Number Copies each issue during preceding 12 months	Actual Number of Copies of single issue published nearest to filing date
A. Total Number Copies Printed (Net Press Run) 266,267	266,267	256,000
B. Paid Circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	75,191	88,200-est.
2. Mail subscriptions	105,687	74,505
C. Total Paid Circulation	180,878	162,705

Extent and Nature of Circulation	Average Number Copies each issue during preceding 12 months	Actual Number of Copies of single issue published nearest to filing date
D. Free Distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier or other means	2,351	2,351
E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D)	183,229	165,056
F. Office use, leftover, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	83,038	90,944
G. Total (Sum of E & F--shouldequal net press run shown in A)	266,267	256,000

C. Funds

Financial History

The "San Francisco Bay Guardian," a weekly newspaper of general circulation in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area in its issue of March 27, 1969, contained an article captioned, "Ramparts-Revolution With Limousine Service" by IVAN SHARPE, which read in its first part as follows: U

> "Frederick C. Mitchell, 29-year-old publisher of Ramparts, is somberly reflecting on the expenses run up by the magazine's former president and editorial director, Warren Hinckle. U
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> "'Big, big,' he says softly. His handsome, boyish face has the look of a betrayed child. U
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> "He leans back slowly, fingers drumming on his creaking chair, which suddenly sounds loud in his tiny, cluttered office. The window is fiercely bright with sunlight and the murmur U

of cars and tourists from nearby Fisherman's Wharf floats through clearly.

"Then he looks up and a light smile instantly wipes aside the pensive look. 'Are those what I think they are?' he asks eagerly.

"He glances happily at the green slip handed to him by a casually-dressed employee who has walked in. It is a payroll check for $318.55. The publisher is like a small boy who has just been given a raise in his pocket money.

"Mitchell, unassuming, likable university professor who sunk an inheritance from his grandfather of nearly half a million dollars into Ramparts, was getting his first salary check in four months.

"Ramparts has been in desperate financial trouble before. Once in 1965 it came within one day of having to close its doors. Mitchell's first $100,000 saved it then. He may save it again, but not this time with his money. Mitchell had never invested more than $20 before Ramparts, but he plunged his inherited fortune into the magazine.

"Ramparts is in voluntary bankruptcy and the Federal Court has agreed to a financial reorganization that would keep its numerous creditors--from Dr. Spock at $50 to Eldridge Cleaver at $805 to PT&T at $19,000--from immediately trying to collect debts of nearly $2 million.

"The new Ramparts may look no different (except for fewer expensive, full-color pages), its tongue will be, if anything, more biting (the next issue will have an expose of CIA infiltration into black capitalism), its emphasis will be less Hincklish sensational muckracking brandished in New York Times ads, more Robert Scheerish political analysis.

> "But inside the magazine's airy, $1400-a-month, bayside suite at 495 Beach St., a barer bones look will prevail. Mitchell has slashed the staff from 25 to 16, ruthlessly halved salaries (Scheer's pay is cut from $15,000 to $10,000) and drastically pared expenses.
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> "No more sumptuous hotel suites (in debts alone: Chicago's Ambassador, $2,536, for the convention; New York's Regency, $824, St. Regis Sheraton, $1,267, Hilton $121; Washington's Sheraton Carlton, $258, and Shoreham, $532; LA's Statler Hilton, $602). No more limousince service for executives (as Hinckle had in New York). No more big restaurant tabs (debts: Andre's, $144; Vanessi's, $504).
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> "No more wives traveling first class with husbands (as did the Hinckles and the Scheers). No more big promotion parties in New York (thousands at the Algonquin alone).
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> "Hinckle in 1968 raised $20,000 or so, I was told, but his expense account for a 30-day period was bigger than that. Said former publisher Ed Keating, 'Check the expense accounts of Scheer and Hinckle for years 1965-1968 and you will see the most diabolic, systematic bloodletting...Bob Scheer and his wife traveling on a deal, something like $2,500 to $5,000 to be paid back at $25 a month on a promissory note. It's ridiculous.'
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> "Hinckle's lavish parties and soaring expenses (perhaps $250,000 in three years, but nobody seems to know for certain) were regarded suspiciously by many staff members and by readers following Che Guevara in the jungles and black militants in the ghettos."

Petition in Bankruptcy Under
Chapter 11 of National Bankruptcy Act

The March 7, 1969, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle," a daily newspaper of general circulation, contained an article captioned, "Ramparts Bravely Looks Ahead," which read in its entirety as follows:

> "Ramparts Magazine is $5,800,000 in debt but will keep publishing, its officers told a bankruptcy court here yesterday.
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> "It hopes to borrow $115,000 from new investors and anticipates getting $65,000 from its readers in advance renewals, officers said.
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> "With this money, plus $75,000 from Random House and Bantam Books as advance money, the magazine believes it will have $206,000 at the end of June to start paying off its debts.
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> "Lynn Gillard, the banktuptcy referee, agreed the company would not have to post a bond. Just the cost of that would cause the magazine to fold, Publisher Frederick C. Mitchell said.
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> "So it will remain in operation and its creditors are forestalled from taking any court action to collect.
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> "Debts, the company said in a statement of affairs, are $5,864,920 while its assets are only $44,507.
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> "Secured debts amount to $4,246,747. The magazine owes the Federal government $51,635 in taxes, the state $1481 in taxes and it owes back wages to employees amounting to $27,562.
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> "Among the unsecured debts, amounting to $1,537,493, are $499,451 owed to Mitchell, the publisher, and $81,282 owed Edward Keating, founder and publisher when the magazine was launched in September, 1961 as the Layman's Press."

The records of the Clerk of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California, contained a Statement of Affairs and Schedules submitted by "Ramparts" Magazine, Inc., which had petitioned for a voluntary arrangement in bankruptcy under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Act, which was filed on March 4, 1969. This petition contained the following schedules and statements concerning the financial operations of "Ramparts."

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RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Budget Projection 1969-70

Income	
Advertising (Note 1)	170,000
Newsstands (Note 2)	336,000
Subscriptions (Note 3)	367,000
List Rental	96,000
Book Department (Note 4)	150,000
Other	20,000
Total	1,139,000
Expense	
Production (Note 6)	216,000
Newsstand Distribution (Note 7)	65,000
Subscription Fulfillment (Note 8)	168,000
Advertising Selling (Note 9)	34,000
Editorial (Note 10)	219,000
Book Department (Note 4)	72,000
General & Administrative (Note 11)	210,000
Total	984,000
Profit or (Loss)	$155,000
Average Circulation	
Subscribers (Note 5)	60,000
Newsstand	70,000
Total	130,000

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Budget Notes

1. Advertising Income estimate is based on 16 pages per issue at $800 per page (both figures are closely comparable to recent experience as a bi-weekly). Longer newsstand exposure should permit us to sustain our per-page price.

2. Newsstand Sales of 70,000 copies assume a 16% increase over bi-weekly sales due to longer newsstand exposure and promotional efforts. 70,000 sales at 40¢ per copy at 12 issues per year provides $336,000 in annual income

3. Subscription Income is estimated on a cash basis as follows:

   Full subscriber rate: 12 issues for $8.50 (from 24 issues for $15)
   Introductory sub. rates: Insert cards, 8 issues for $3.87
   Agency orders, 8 issues for $3.87, 15% remit (these prices are unchanged)

Sources of Income:	New Business	
	"White Mail" 6000 orders	$ 36,000
	Insert cards 18,000 orders	72,000
	Agency 12,000 orders	9,000
		117,000
	Renewal business (30-40%)	161,000
	Total subscription income	$278,000

For profit and loss calculations, subscription income is recorded on an accrual basis. For 1969-70 the computation is as follows:

Average Circulation per issue	60,000
Number of issues per year	x 12
Total issues serviced	720,000
Average revenue per issue	x 52¢
Income for the year	$367,000

4. Book Department - Eighteen titles per year, $1000 fee per title, plus average advance of $7000 per title, of which $4000 is passed on to authors (expense side of this budget). This is a minimal program which merely continues at a low level the present agenting arrangement.

5. Circulation. An average subscriber circulation of 60,000 copies per issue can be maintained, without direct mail promotion, from new orders obtained through insert cards, "white mail", and agency orders. While circulation growth can be obtained by direct mail promotions, large cash outlays are required and our recent experience teaches us not to depend on cash available for such promotions.

6. Production economies will be achieved by limited color availability to either 4 or 8 pages of color

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This will reduce printing costs by some 40%, color separations by 75%. With the resumption of monthly publication, and a new discipline in adhering to deadlines, printer overtime can be largely eliminated.

7. Shipping Newsstand Copies by air freight has doubled our distribution costs. This can be eliminated with monthly publication and respect for deadlines.

8. Fulfillment (including subscription promotion) costs cannot be reduced on a per-subscriber basis. The decision to stabilize for now the size of the subscriber list eliminates the need for direct mail subscriber promotions budgeted for approximately $400,000 previously.

9. The Sales staff will be compensated on a straight commission basis (10-15%) rather than salary.

10. Editorial staff has been cut in half and salaries reduced, netting a saving of $119,000 per year - a cut of 50%. This is possible due to new management and the wider range of options afforded by the present crisis. Sinecures have been abolished, part-time staff eliminated, and conversion of some salaried employees to an intermittent employment status paid by the hour.

11. Staff reductions and salary cuts will save $53,000. Reduced staff and closer control will yield 40% savings in telephone costs. Most consultants and auditing fees can be eliminated, as can fund raising and interests if this is to be a self-financed corporation.

[illegible], INC.

STATEMENT OF [illegible]COME AND EXPENSES, Februa[illegible] 1969

Income

Newsstand: Estimated sale: 50% x 117,000 @39.5¢ per copy sold	$23,107.50
Subscription: Deferred liability reduced by 68,000 copies @51.6¢	35,088.00
Bookstore magazine sales: Estimated sale: 50% x 8200 @ 35¢	1,435.00
Advertising, as billed:	18,513.00
List Rentals, as billed:	5,820.00
Total Income	$83,963.50

Expense*

Production (printing, composition)	$30,824.00
Subscriptions (computer house, postage, supplies)	9,378.13
Newsstand distribution (freight, rebates, etc.--estimated)	3,933.00
Advertising selling	516.00
Editorial (manuscripts, art, etc.)	6,532.54
General (rent, taxes, legal, office expense, list rental costs, etc.)	13,740.62
Total Expense	$64,924.29
Net Income, February 1969	$19,039.21

*Note: salaries have been distributed throughout all expense categories.

Cash flow Feb 1969

A/R	13,800
Loan	25,000
A/R	2600
on hand	10,000
subscription (trial)	16,200

4800	Payroll
1500	Payment security note
8300	Deposit PT&T
2600	Salary
2300	Cash advance supplies
3500	others

Payroll 20,000 monthly commencing Feb 15, 1969

2/1/69

9

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Cash Flow - February

	Feb 3-7	Feb 10-14	Feb 17-21	Feb 24-28
ceipts				
Cash On Hand, Feb 1	12,000			
List Rental	4,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Sale of Tax Loss Notes		10,000		
Legal Fees Advanced		2,000	1,000	
Advertising	3,000	3,000	7,000	7,000
Subscriptions (secured)	-	-	-	-
Newsstand (secured)	-	-	-	-
Total	19,000	7,000	10,000	9,000
sbursements				
Legal Fees	2,000	2,000	1,000	
Production Cost Adv.	4,000	14,000	8,000	
Payroll-Current		10,000		10,000
Payroll-Accrued	15,000	15,000	15,000	
Early Renewal Mailing		8,000		
Other Operating Costs	5,000	10,000	13,000	10,000
Total	26,000	59,000	37,000	20,000
sh (Need)	(7,000)	(42,000)	(27,000)	(11,000)

③

MONTHLY BUDGET COMPARISON

	Month of March 1969			
	Bi-weekly	Monthly	Difference	Note
Income				
Advertising	$ 25,000	$ 13,000	-$ 12,000	1
Newsstands and Bookstores	70,000	28,000	- 42,000	2
Subscriptions	91,000	31,000	- 60,000	3
List Rental	1,000	8,000	+ 7,000	4
Other	2,000	2,000	-	
Book Department - net	-	6,000	+ 6,000	
Total	$189,000	$ 88,000	-$101,000	
Expenses				
Production	$65,000	$ 18,000	-$47,000	5
✓Newsstand Distribution	7,000	2,000	- 5,000	6
Subscription Fulfillment	17,000	14,000	- 3,000	7
Subscription Promotion	42,000	-	- 42,000	8
Newsstand Sales Promotion	4,000	3,000	- 1,000	
Advertising Selling	3,000	3,000	-	
Editorial	35,000	18,000	- 17,000	9
General and Administrative	45,000	30,000	- 15,000	10
	218,000	88,000	-130,000	
Profit or Loss on Operations	(29,000)	-	29,000	
Circulation - copies per month				
Subscribers	175,000	60,000	-115,000	
Newsstands	180,000	60,000	-120,000	
	355,000	120,000	-235,000	

24,000

60
75
6
45000

④

NOTES TO MONTHLY BUDGET COMPARISON

1) Advertising - proportional reduction of revenues resulting from monthly instead of bi-weekly publication.

2) Newsstands and Bookstores - Change in publication frequency and a less optimistic projection of growth in copies consigned.

3) Subscriptions - Stabilization of subscriber list at present level (no promotion), and change in publication frequency.

4) List Rental - Estimate in prior budget was overly conservative. The present financial crisis has allowed list rental orders to backlog.

5) Production expenses - Reduction of color availability change in frequency, and staff reduction of 2 persons.

6) Newsstand Distribution - Elimination of airfreighting and change in frequency.

7) Subscription Fulfillment - Per subscriber costs remain unchanged, list in new projection does not grow as in prior budget.

8) Subscription Promotion - No promotion is budgeted because list size can be maintained under monthly publication without this expense.

9) Editorial - Sharp reductions in editorial staff amounting to a $7,000 decrease in payroll with a similar cut in editorial travel expenses, along with elimination of the Washington, D. C. bureau.

10) General & Administrative

	Saving
Salaries were $8,000, cut to $4,000	$ 4,000
Telephone: restricted usage and smaller staff will cut telephone costs by 40%, from $7,500 to $4,500	3,500
Payroll taxes, now $1,000 monthly, will be halved	500
Closing of New York Office	1,500
Interest expense will be eliminated	5,500
Elimination of fund raising travel	1,000
Increase in List Rental Cost	(1,000)
Total G & A Savings	$15,000

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE INCORPORATED (In proceedings under Chapter XI of the Bankruptcy Act)

Monthly Cash Flow Projection March through June, 1969

Receipts:	March	April	May	June	Totals
Subscription revenues, regular	$ 23,000	$ 23,000	$ 23,000	$ 23,000	$ 92,000
special mailings		15,000	25,000	25,000	65,000
Advertising revenue collections	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	48,000
Circulation revenue collections	30,000	12,000	18,000	18,000	78,000
Interest, notes, collections	40,000		50,000		90,000
Book publishing advances		25,000	15,000	10,000	50,000
TOTAL: Operating Receipts:	$ 105,000	$ 87,000	$ 143,000	$ 88,000	$ 423,000
Disbursements:					
Expenditures, as budgeted	$ 79,000	$ 79,000	$ 79,000	$ 79,000	$ 316,000
Special subscriber mailings	16,000				16,000
TOTAL: Operating Disbursements:	$ 95,000	$ 79,000	$ 79,000	$ 79,000	$ 332,000
Cash Available, from Operations:	$ 10,000	$ 8,000	$ 64,000	$ 9,000	$ 91,000
New Investment Funds committed:	40,000	55,000	20,000		115,000
TOTAL: Cash on hand, for the month:	$ 50,000	$ 63,000	$ 84,000	$ 9,000	$ 206,000
TOTAL: Cash on hand, cumulative:*	$ 50,000	$ 113,000	$ 197,000	$ 206,000	$ 206,000

NB:*Excluded from projected disbursements above are $ 80,000 in priority wage and other claims to be paid prior to confirmation of a Plan of Arrangement

Random House Commitments: 20,000 } Payable over next four months
Bantam Books Commitment: 50,000

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Cash Flow Projection
February-June 1969

	February	March	April	May	June	Five Month Total
Receipts						
Subscription	23,000	23,000	23,000	23,000	23,000	115,000
Newsstand Income	37,000	20,000	21,000	21,000	22,000	121,000
Advertising	20,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	68,000
List Rental Income	10,000	15,000	15,000	10,000	5,000	55,000
Special Early Renewal-Sub	-	30,000	30,000	-	-	60,000
Expire Mailing	-	-	17,000	-	-	17,000
Book Sales	-	10,000	10,000	10,000	15,000	45,000
Real Estate Income	10,000	-	-	50,000	30,000	90,000
Cash Available 2/1/69	15,000	-	-	-	-	15,000
Total	115,000	110,000	128,000	126,000	107,000	586,000
Disbursements						
Operating Budget	84,000	82,000	82,000	82,000	82,000	412,000
Legal Fees	5,000	5,000	5,000	-	-	15,000
Pmt to Secured Creditors						
-Subscription Income	23,000	15,000	-	-	-	38,000
-Newsstand Income	37,000	20,000	21,000	21,000	22,000	121,000
Early Renewal Mailing	8,000	-	-	-	-	8,000
Expire Mailing	-	12,000	-	-	-	12,000
Accrued Payrolls & Taxes	45,000	-	50,000	-	-	95,000
[illegible]tal	202,000	134,000	158,000	103,000	104,000	701,000
Cash Need-This Month	(87,000) ✓	(24,000) ✓	(30,000)	23,000	3,000	(115,000)

Financial Supporters

The above referred to bankruptcy records of "Ramparts" contained a list of loans which had been repaid during the period February through December, 1968, as follows:

7

#10 -- REPAYMENTS OF LOANS, FEBRUARY TO DECEMBER, 1968

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	Amount	Month (1968)
[redacted]	$3,000.00	February
	$1,000.00	February
	$3,000.00	May-September
	$3800.00	September
	$25,000.00	May
	$14,000.00	February-December
	$19,016.95	February-December
	$2,300.00	May
	$#,500.00	July-September
	$1,000.00	February
	$15,000.00	May
	$500.00	October
Western Media Corp. (Attn: [redacted]) [redacted]	$5,000.00	June

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b7C

#10 -- REPAYMENTS OF LOANS, FEBRUARY TO DECEMBER, 1968

[redacted] [redacted]		
[redacted]	$4,000.00	March
[redacted]	$11,876.43	February
	$5,000.00	March-April
	$10,000.00	April
	$9,697.48	June
LOUIS B. HONIG DIRECTOR OF SUBJECT MAGAZINE	$2,859.49	November-December (And January, 1969)
[redacted]	$1,687.19	June-October
	$1,887.19	June-July
Richard A. ~~Russell~~ RICHARD RUSSELL DIRECTOR OF SUBJECT MAGAZINE [redacted] [redacted]	$14,100.00	June-September
	$5,000.00	February-June
Writers' Assistance Institute 495 Beach St. San Francisco, Cal.	$40,000.00	February-June
Sugar Lo Corp. (Attn: [redacted] [redacted]	$10,000.00	February
Union Bank Wilshire Blve & Beverly Dr. Beverly Hills, Cal.	$5047.46	February
[redacted]	$5,000.00	February-May
	$2,000.00	July
First Western Bank 235 Montgomery St. San Francisco, Cal.	$20,000.00	December
San Francisco Mime Troupe 924 Howard St.	$5,000.00	

The bankruptcy records referred to above contained a list of unsecured creditors as follows: U

UNSECURED CREDITORS--NOTEHOLDERS

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[redacted]		$25,000.00
[redacted]		2,000.00
[redacted]		10,000.00
[redacted]		19,000.00*
[redacted]		500.00
[redacted]		6,500.00
[redacted]		1,200.00
[redacted]		10,000.00
[redacted]		25,000.00
[redacted]		3,000.00
[redacted]		5,000.00
[redacted]	37	1,000.00
[redacted]		35,000.00

UNSECURED CREDITORS--NOTEHOLDERS (2)

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[redacted]	$1,000.00
Institute for Policy Studies (Attn: [redacted] [redacted]	2,200.00
[redacted]	5,000.00
[redacted]	10,000.00
[redacted]	81,282.04
[redacted]	8,200.00
[redacted]	25,000.00
[redacted]	500.00
[redacted]	10,000.00
[redacted]	499,451.17*
[redacted]	50,000.00*
[redacted]	6,500.00

[illegible]

UNSECURED CR[illegible]ITORS--NOTEHOLDERS (3)

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[redacted]	$2,500.00
	10,000.00
	106,350.00*
	2,500.00
	5,000.00
	5,000.00
	9,500.00
	2,000.00
Western Media Corp. (Attn: [redacted] [redacted]	30,000.00
	$1,015,183.17

* Security agreements exist covering all or some portions of amounts so indicated. Amount shown is entire note less portion which is secured without doubt, or under the best estimate of debtor.

U

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II. OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, AND EXECUTIVES

The records of the Clerk of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California contained the following list of officers, directors and executives filed by "Ramparts" during its bankruptcy proceedings:

OS SUBJECT MAGAZINE

WARREN HINCKLE, III
FORMER President, Director, Editorial Director
(Resigned January 30, 1969)
263 Castro Street
San Francisco, California 94114

ROBERT ~~J.~~ KALDENBACH BOB KALDENBACH
Controller, Director, Secretary-Treasurer
(Now President) OS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
1843 Capistrano,
Berkeley, California 94707

ROBERT SCHEER SI
Editor-in-Chief, Director, Vice President
6468 Benvenue,
Oakland, California 94618

DUGALD R. STERMER DUGALD STERMER
Art Director, Director, Vice President OS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
209 Meda Court
Mill Valley, California 94941

FREDERICK ~~C.~~ ~~MITC~~HELL
Publisher, Director OS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
KANSAS 3637 Washington Street B. APPROX-1944
San Francisco, California 94118

STEPHEN ~~V.~~ ~~ROBIN~~SON
Business Manager, Assistant Secretary
(Now Secretary-Treasurer) OS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
2263 1/2 Sacramento Street
San Francisco, California 94115

DAVI~~D~~ ~~KOLO~~DNEY
Managing Editor OS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
503 Forest
Oakland, California 94618

150

DAVID ~~HOROWITZ~~
Book Department Editor OF SUBJECT MAGAZINE
1191 Glen
Berkeley, California 94708

(U)

PETER ~~COLLIER~~
Senior Editor OF SUBJECT MAGAZINE
6107 Harwood
Oakland, California 94618

LOUIS B. HONIG
Director
1275 Columbus Street
San Francisco, California 94133

GERALD ~~FEIGAN~~
Director OF SUBJECT MAGAZINE
1515 Scott Street
San Francisco, California 94115

STANLEY ~~SHEINBAUM~~
Director OF SUBJECT MAGAZINE
Center for the Study of Democratic
Institutions
Santa Barbara, California 93102

MARTIN ~~PERETZ~~
Director OF SUBJECT MAGAZINE
20 Larchwood Road
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

RICHARD A. RUSSELL
Director
45 Kirkwood Road
West Hartford, Connecticut 06107

HOWARD ~~GOSSAGE~~
Director OF SUBJECT MAGAZINE
451 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California 94133

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III. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

Political Activities

[redacted]

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SF T-4
8/22/68

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the Appendix.

On August 23, 1968, [redacted] [redacted] Trans World Airlines (TWA), John F. Kennedy Airport, New York, advised TWA records reflect one [redacted] departed John F. Kennedy Airport on [redacted] [redacted] He stated the records reflect [redacted] [redacted] at TWA's office at John F. Kennedy Airport [redacted] He further stated the date of the purchase and the identity of the person making the purchase are not known.

Further, he advised [redacted] ticket issued by TWA at John F. Kennedy Airport, was valid for travel from [redacted] The return date and flight were both left open by [redacted] and no return reservation [redacted] was made. The cost of the ticket was $483.60.

On August 23, 1968, [redacted] [redacted] TWA, San Francisco, advised that on August 22, 1968, the Fugazi Travel Agency, 1 Columbus Drive, San Francisco, contacted TWA and requested a prepaid ticket

[redacted]

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[redacted] further advised TWA, San Francisco, booked space as requested and was advised by TWA, New York, that the ticket was picked up and [redacted] [redacted] U

[redacted] stated TWA, San Francisco, does not have any further information regarding the above mentioned itinerary or the identity of the purchaser of the miscellaneous charge order as TWA will bill the Fugazi Travel Service in this regard. U

The records of the Fugazi Travel Service, 1 Columbua Avenue, San Francisco, reflect the prepaid ticket referred to above for [redacted] was requested by [redacted] [redacted]

cA/ls

SF T-5
8/26/68

At an assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements sponsored by Columbia University Strike Committee and Columbia University SDS, which was held on September 23, 1968, in New York City, BERNADINE DOHRN, National Educational or Inter-organizational Secretary of SDS, spoke and stated she returned from Europe three days ago. She also stated she and 27 other American student leaders met in Budapest, Hungary with five members of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. U

SF T-6
9/23/68

The "Washington Post," a daily Washington, D.C. newspaper, issue of September 21, 1968, contains an item captioned, "U.S. War Foes Meet with Hanoi Group," which states that a group of 28 American war foes travelled to

Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and National Liberation Front to discuss strategy on United States campuses. U

According to the above article, the meeting reportedly was held in Budapest, September 5 - 9, 1968, by DAVID DELLINGER, Head of National Mobilization Committee and coalition of anti-war advocates. The article stated that nine of the above mentioned 28 individuals took part in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention. U

> The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMCEWV) was an ad hoc organization composed of several anti-Vietnam war and peace groups which organized mass rallies and marches in New York and San Francisco on April 15, 1967, to protest United States involvement in the Vietnam war. The SMCEWV is now known as the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMCEWV). U

According to the above article, VERNONE GRIZZARD, age 24, former national vice president of Students for a Democratic Society was one of the above travel group and had visited Hanoi earlier to bring back three pilots released by North Vietnam. As outlined by GRIZZARD, Budapest meetings centered on Paris peace talks, on prospects of further student unrest and furthering draft unrest among GI's. GRIZZARD said the North Vietnamese gave no directions for activities in the United States, but were pleased and interested in "our" plans. U

According to the article, the North Vietnamese were told of plans for a National GI week just before the November 5, 1968, elections, when ministers will be asked to preach anti-war sermons. The article also stated that "they" were also to try to stir up GI's in coffee houses. U

CA/lr

At a meeting of the San Francisco Newsreel in San Francisco on October 16, 1968, [redacted]

b6
b7C

a group at the University of California at Santa Cruz. This group had contacted "Ramparts" Magazine with information that they were planning disruptive activities at the University of California (UC) at Santa Cruz. [redacted] [redacted] whom he did not further identify, [redacted] [redacted] At the Newsreel meeting that night, [redacted] reported that the group liked the film and had planned a confrontation with the Board of Regents who were meeting at Santa Cruz on October 17, 1968. U

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SF T-7
10/18/68

In a brochure distributed by San Francisco Newsreel in September, 1968, it described their group as a co-op of radical film makers in the San Francisco Bay Area, which made and distributed films concerning events of importance to social change in this country, which national and local news media either distort or ignore. U

At a meeting of the San Francisco Newsreel on November 6, 1968, [redacted]

Calif

SF T-7
11/13/68

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"GUARDIAN," FORMERLY KNOWN AS "NATIONAL GUARDIAN"; WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"1. ...'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly...it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

The February 3, 1968, issue of the "National Guardian" announced that as of the issue of February 10, 1968, the "National Guardian" would henceforth be known as the "Guardian."

The February 10, 1968, issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly" and is published by Weekly Guardian Associates, Incorporated. The "Guardian" lists its address as 197 East Fourth Street, New York City, New York.

The February 12, 1968, issue of the "New York Times" carried an article entitled "Radical Editors Say Their Job Is In 'Movement'." This article stated that the first issue of the "Guardian" was dedicated by the paper's staff "To those heroic Liberation fighters who last week began a major offensive against American Imperialism in South Vietnam."

This article quoted one of the editors as saying that "Our job is to build a radical movement. To quote the Cuban revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it--we are movement people acting as journalists.

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

This article concluded by stating that the "Guardian" is considered the largest radical weekly in America.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on Page 22 concerning the American Labor Party:

"1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control'.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 78.)

"2. 'Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the *** American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label'.
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

April 18, 1969

Title	RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C REGISTRATION ACT
Reference	San Francisco report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 4/18/69.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI

Date: 6/6/69

Transmit the following in ______ wxs/wr
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)(P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
IS - C;
REGISTRATION ACT

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum reporting on the bankruptcy status of "Ramparts" Magazine.

EX-115

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/18 BY lrc

REC 11 100-445393-151

11 ENCLOSURE

4 destroyed

12 JUN 12 1969

2 - Bureau (Encs. 11)(RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO/sms #11
(3)

AGENCY ACSI; OSI; ONI; RAO/ISD
REQ. REC'D
DATE FWD.
HOW FWD. [redacted] (By Liaison)
BY 6/11/69

TPD/gdw

b3
b7E

Approved: ______ Sent ______ M Per ______
Special Agent in Charge

70 JUN 24 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-14-2011 BY [redacted] UC/BAW/SAB/DF

b6
b7C

UNITE[illegible] STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUS[illegible]CE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 6, 1969

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED

The files of the Federal Bankruptcy Court, San Francisco, California, were reviewed on June 5, 1969, and reflected that an order was granted by the referee on May 29, 1969, which confirmed a Plan of Arrangement which had been duly accepted by a majority of creditors in all classes whose claims have been proved or allowed. Creditors will receive from one to five per cent of their claim depending upon the classification or priority of their claims.

LYNN GUILLIARD, Referee in Bankruptcy, advised on June 5, 1969, that contrary to reports in the press, "Ramparts" was not discharged from bankruptcy, but that the court shall retain jurisdiction until the final allowance or disallowance of all claims affected by this arrangement.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

NAL FORM NO. 10
1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GO[illegible]RNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 10/31/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (~~100~~ 157-459) (P*)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Shackelford

Rerep of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated 4/18/69 at San Francisco and airtel with enclosed LHM dated 6/6/69.

Investigation of captioned publication has been conducted in the past under the Registration Act to determine possible foreign influence and financing. Extensive checking on sources of income during the past three years of deficit operations failed to discover foreign subsidation. The results of this investigation was confirmed by a review of bankruptcy records which disclosed complete financial records. [redacted]

b6
b7C

The records of the Mailing Requirements Section of the U. S. Post Office disclosed that the October, 1969 issue had a decline to 122,418 in total paid circulation from the 162,705 stated in October, 1968 and a decrease in total number of copies printed to 200,000 from 256,000 during the same period.

[redacted]

A copy of "Ramparts" is being sent monthly to the Research-Satellite Section. UACB, San Francisco will place this case in pending inactive status and re-evaluate the nature of its activity periodically to determine if an active investigation is warranted.

100-445393-154

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO:rvn
(3)

ST-115

9 NOV 4 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [illegible]

INT. [illegible]

1 - Mr. T. P. Druken

SAC, San Francisco (157-459) E-116

11/18/69

0-1 NH 11-13-69
Let. WBS 11-25-69
Stat. Inves.

REC- 127

Director, FBI (100-445393)-154

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C

Reurlet 10/31/69.

The Bureau does not concur with your recommendation contained in relet relative to placing captioned matter in a pending inactive status, and you are instructed to immediately prepare a report containing all pertinent information developed since the submission of your last report.

It is to be noted that [redacted]

b6
b7C

MAILED 11
NOV 17 1969
COMM-FBI

You are reminded that in order for the Bureau to carry out its responsibilities in disseminating timely information concerning the anarchistic activities of the New Left, and in view of the dependence of other agencies on our coverage, it is extremely important that the activities of groups involved in such matters be vigorously pursued.

The importance of thoroughly investigating and developing information concerning captioned matter cannot be overemphasized and the Bureau will be closely following this matter.

TPD:mst
(4) mst

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY

NOTE:

Ramparts, self-described an an "independent, liberal magazine of dissent" is published at San Francisco, California. In the recent past, it has encountered financial difficulties [redacted] San Francisco is being instructed to continue its investigation in captioned matter.

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

58 NOV 19 1969

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[redacted]

File
9-10-69

[redacted] N. P. Callahan
A. W. Gray
R. S. Garner

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

7/18/69

1 - Miss A. M. Butler
1 - Publications Subscription
Control Folder

Director, FBI (100-415762)

PUBLICATIONS - HANDLING OF BY RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION

You are authorized to arrange discreetly for a one-year subscription to the magazine "Ramparts" for the use of the Bureau. The address given for the magazine is Ramparts Magazine, Inc., 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, California, and the yearly subscription price is listed as $15. Issues of the magazine should be forwarded on a regular, current basis marked to the attention of the Research-Satellite Section, Domestic Intelligence Division. The Bureau desires that you also obtain one copy each of 1969 issues of the magazine printed to date.

Instructions set out in the Manual of Rules and Regulations, Part II, Section 6, H, 4, Page 5a, should be followed in handling this subscription.

Advise Bureau thirty days prior to 1970 expiration of subscription to allow time to consider renewal.

1 - Internal Security Section (Route through for review)
1 - Nationalities Intelligence Section (Route through for review)
1 - Mr. M. F. Row, 6221 IB
1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

100-445393-

NOT RECORDED
98 JUL 22 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/10 BY

AMB:jls
(12)

ORIGINAL FILED IN

NOTE:

Subscription requested by SA T.P.Druken, Internal Security, Number One Man A.J.Decker, Nationalities Intelligence, Section Chief A.W.Gray, SA R.S.Garner, and SA J.E.Keating, Research-Satellite Section, Domestic Intelligence Division. "Ramparts," edited by Robert Scheer, a Key Activist in the New Left movement, is a militant publication of the New Left movement dealing generally with student revolutionary activity throughout the world. "Ramparts" is useful in keeping abreast of the nefarious activities of the various groups composing the New Left, and it affords valuable background information for articles, speeches, lectures, and special research projects. After extensive routing, magazine will be filed in Publications

DUPLIC

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STAT NMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-445393)
DATE: 11/24/69

FROM : SAC, New Haven (97-159) (C)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
REGISTRATION ACT

CRP

For the information of the Bureau by letter dated 3/7/69 the San Francisco Office advised "Ramparts" Magazine had filed a petition declaring itself in voluntary bankruptcy and requested a reorganization under the provisions of of Chapter XI of the National Bankruptcy. San Francisco further advised New Haven [redacted]

b6
b7C

In view of above, New Haven is taking no further action in this matter pending receipt of additional information from the San Francisco Office.

1-cc 924 (9rD)

2-Bureau (RM)
1-New Haven
JAD/lrf
(3)

9ED

REC-41

EX 110

100-445393-155

22 NOV 25 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/21/80 BY

5 DEC 5 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

-263 (Rev. 12-19-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD	
SAN FRANCISCO	SAN FRANCISCO	12/24/69	4/11-12/22/69	
TITLE OF CASE		REPORT MADE BY		TYPED BY
RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.		EDWARD J. O'FLYNN		mb
		CHARACTER OF CASE		
		IS - C; RA		

REFERENCE: Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 4/18/69, at San Francisco.

ou 150

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential as data furnished by SF T-1 through SF T-3, if disclosed, could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

K

ALL INF[illegible]ATION CONTAINED
HEREIN [illegible]NCLASSIFIED
DATE [illegible] BY

[redacted]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					☐ NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ Y PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐

APPROVED CWB : LW SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

② - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)
3 - San Francisco ([illegible]9)

100-445393-156

REC-22

17 DEC 29 1969

NO DISSEMINATION
SPECIAL RESTRICTIONS APPLY
SEE TOP SERIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

104

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations
Agency	RAO/ISD; Sec. Serv., ACSI			[redacted]	INT. SEC.
Request Recd.					(By Liaison)
Date Fwd.					
How Fwd.	12/5 (info)	1/7/70			
By					

56 JAN 13 1970

COVER PAGE

SF 157-459
EJO:mb

LEAD:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Follow activities of subject publication and submit report in June, 1970.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	File Where Located
SF T-1 is [redacted]	[redacted]
SF T-2 is [redacted]	
SF T-3 is [redacted]	

b6
b7C
b7D

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITE[illegible] STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUS[illegible]CE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of:	EDWARD J. O'FLYNN	Office:	SAN FRANCISCO
Date:	12/24/69		
Field Office File #:	157-459	Bureau File #:	100-445393
Title:	RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.		
Character:	INTERNAL SECURITY - C; REGISTRATION ACT		

[redacted] b6 b7C

Synopsis:

CALIF

"Ramparts" magazine, in voluntary bankruptcy since 3/69, was named defendant in suit filed on 11/26/69, by FREDERICK C. MITCHELL, publisher, to restrain "Ramparts" and its subsidiaries from transferring stock. Net worth on 6/30/69, after reorganization under Chapter XI of Bankruptcy Act, stated as $371,132 indebtedness. Total paid circulation in 10/69, down to 122,418 from 180,878 in 10/68. Officers, directors and executives set forth with subversive affiliations.

DECLASSIFIED BY 2333
ON JUL 29 1977

- P* -

DETAILS:

GAI/RDB

ALL INFORMATION CONTAI [redacted]
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/21/80 BY [illegible]

Reviewed for classification 7-28-77 by 2333 GAI/RDB

[redacted]

APPROPRIATE ~~AGENCIES~~
~~AND~~ FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF declassification
DATE AUG 2 1977 8-7

RDB

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES

A. History and Corporate Structure

Bankruptcy

Ramparts Magazine, Inc. on March 6, 1969, filed a petition in voluntary bankruptcy which requested a reorganization under the provisions of Chapter XI of the National Bankruptcy Act. It declared debts of $5,864,920 and assets of $44,507. Among the unsecured debts was listed $499,451.17 owed to FREDERICK MITCHELL, publisher.

Suit Against "Ramparts" by FREDERICK MITCHELL, Publisher

The records of the Clerk of the Superior Court of the State of California at San Francisco, in Action Number 610574, reflect that FREDERICK C. MITCHELL was the Plaintiff in a suit filed on November 26, 1969, against Western Media Corporation, Ramparts Magazine, Inc. and others, for an Order to Show Cause and a Temporary Restraining Order forbidding "Ramparts" to transfer any of its capital stock held in the name of Western Media Corporation to any person or entity. This complaint alleged that the only asset of Western Media Corporation is the shares of stock in "Ramparts" magazine.

Proposed Issuance of Additional Stock by "Ramparts"

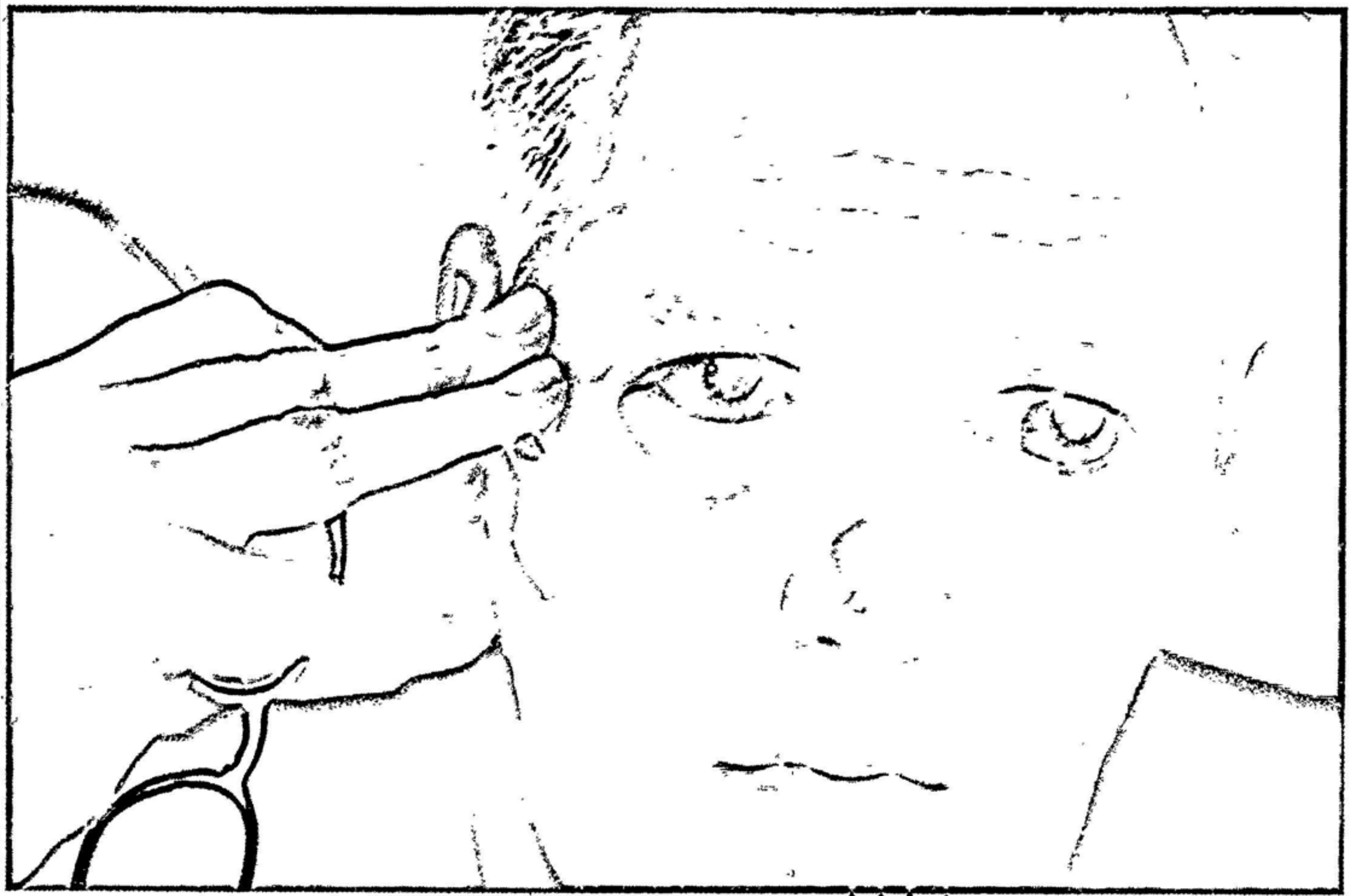
"Ramparts" made application on September 8, 1969 (approved September 15, 1969) to the Department of Corporations, State of California, to increase the authorized number of shares issued from 200,000 to 500,000 at a proposed price of $1 per share. The stated purpose of issuance of these additional shares was to cancel existing indebtedness and to raise cash. This application stated that a maximum of 10,500 shares would be reserved for the holders of notes payable by "Ramparts",

100-445393-104

DO NOT DESTROY

FOIPA# 1154719

January 1968 Ramparts Seventy-five Cents

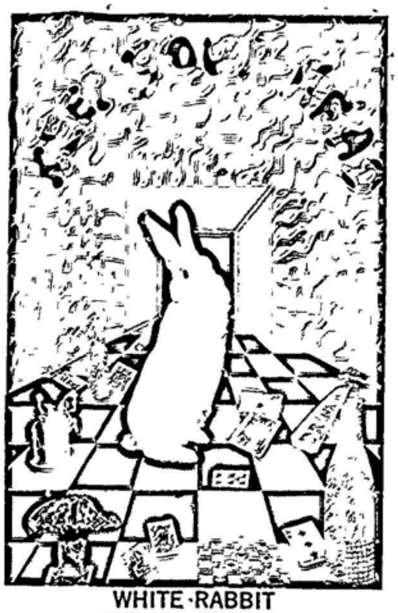


THIS MAG SHOULD BE BURNED !!!!

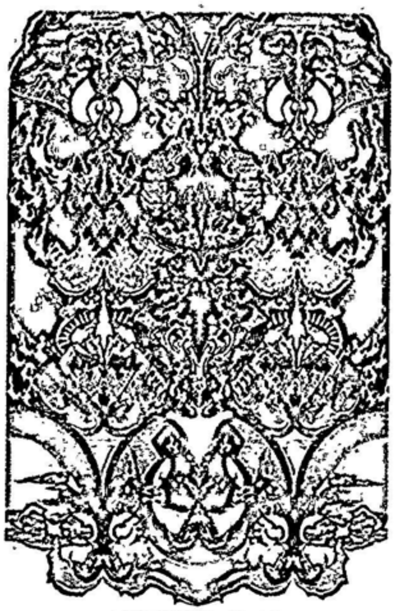
"Who appointed Ramsey Clark, who has done his best to torpedo the investigation of the case? Who controls the CIA? Who controls the FBI? Who controls the Archives where this evidence is locked up for so long that it is unlikely that there is anybody in this room who will be alive when it is released? This is really your property and the property of the people of this country. Who has the arrogance and the brass to prevent the people from seeing that evidence? Who indeed?

"The one man who has profited most from the assassination— your friendly President, Lyndon Johnson!" — *Jim Garrison*

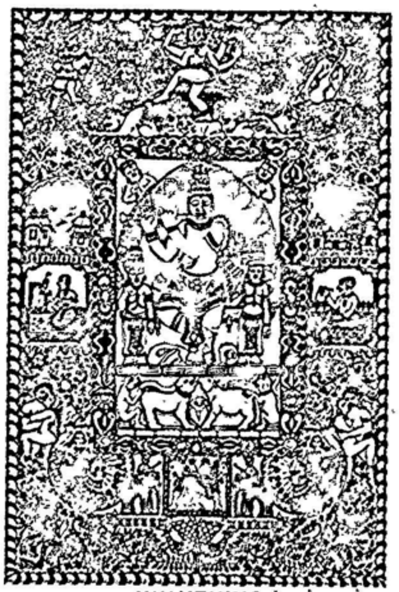
COMMIE ORIENTED THROUGH & THROUGH!



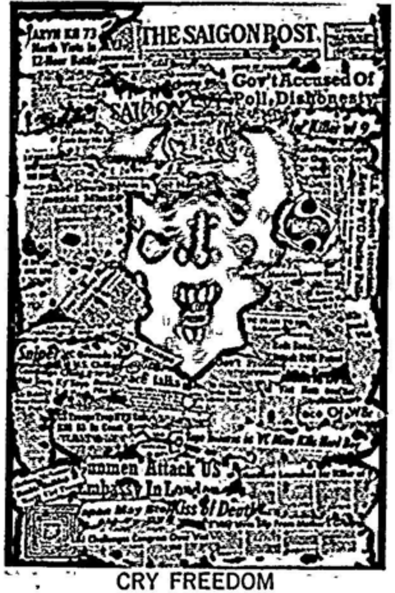
WHITE RABBIT
Artist: Joe McHugh



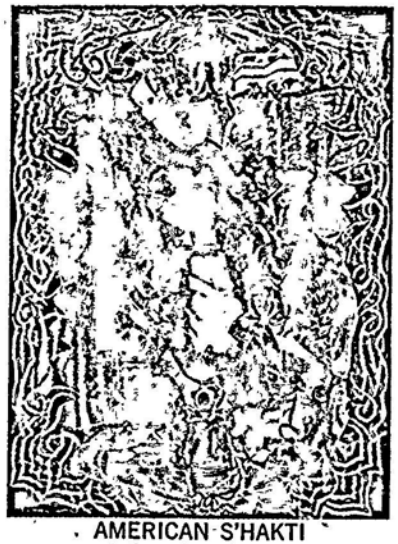
MORNING STAR
Artist: Phil Bird



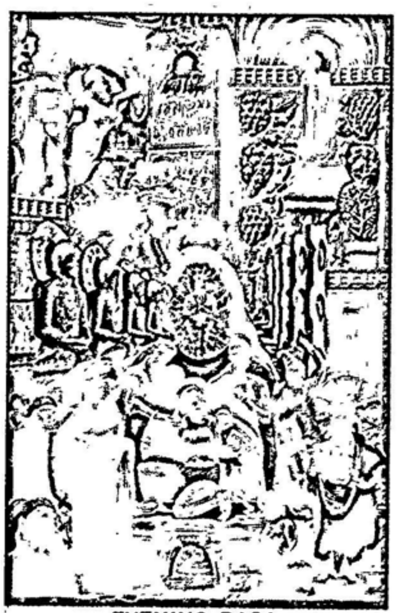
AWAKENING
Artist: Irene McHugh


THE SAIGON POST
Gov't Accused Of Poll Dishonesty
Gunmen Attack US Embassy In London

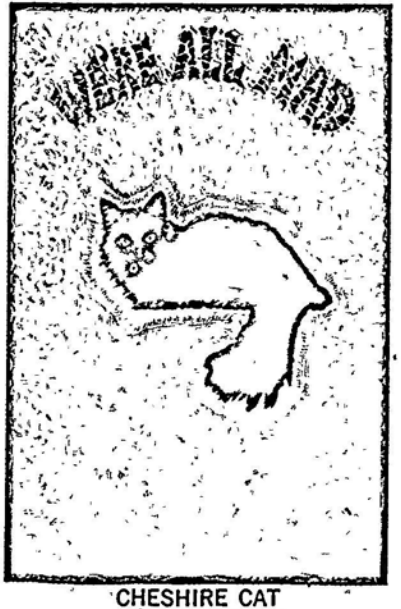
CRY FREEDOM
Artist: SP/4 Vietnam



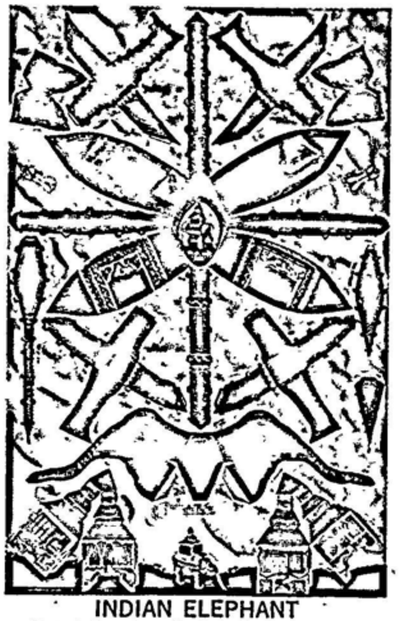
AMERICAN S'HAKTI
Artist: Nick Nicholds



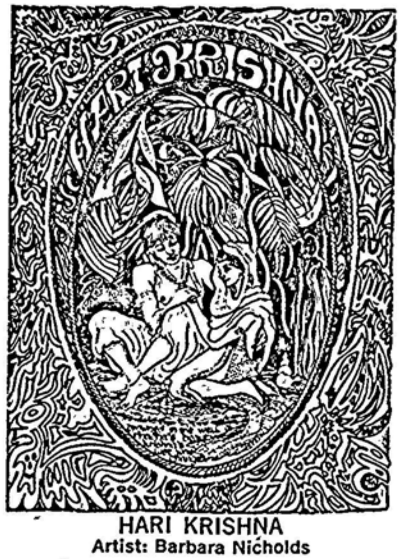
EVENING RAGA
Artist: Joe McHugh


WE'RE ALL MAD

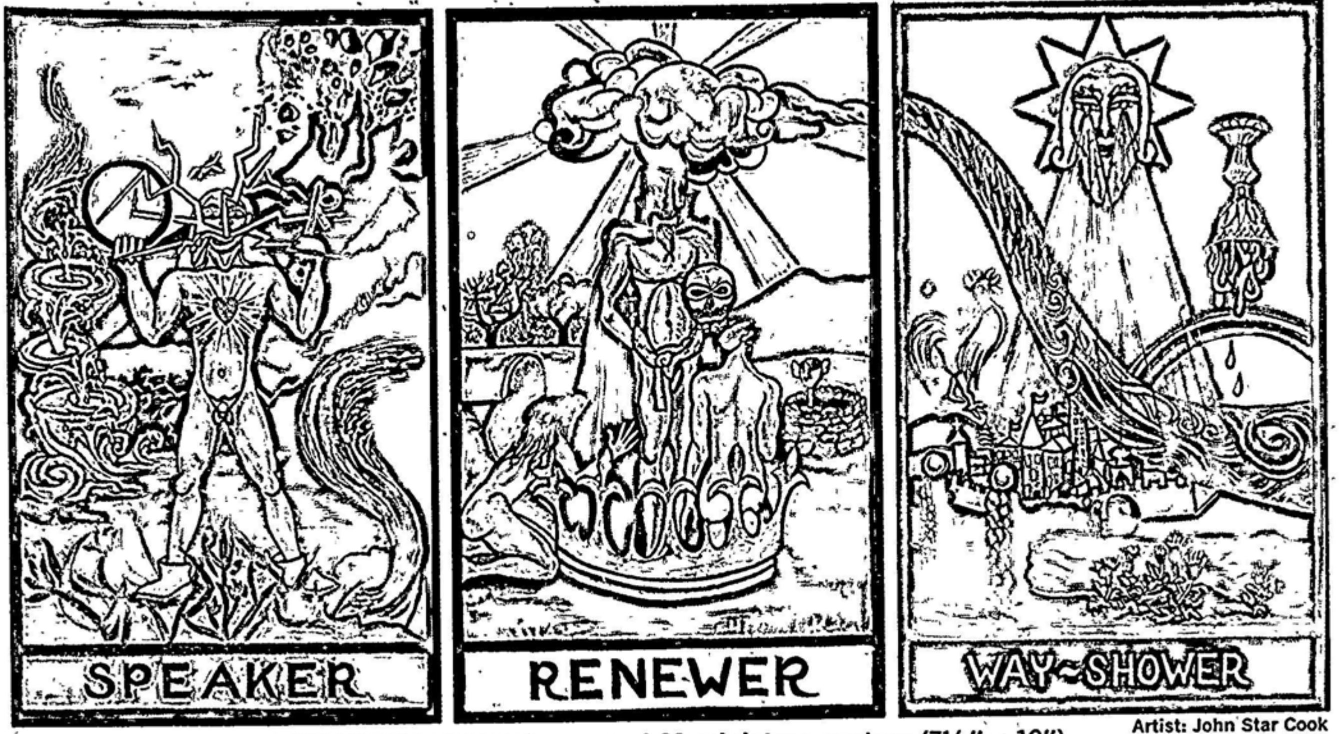
CHESHIRE CAT
Artist: Joe McHugh



INDIAN ELEPHANT
(A Cut Out Creation) Artist: Bob Moon

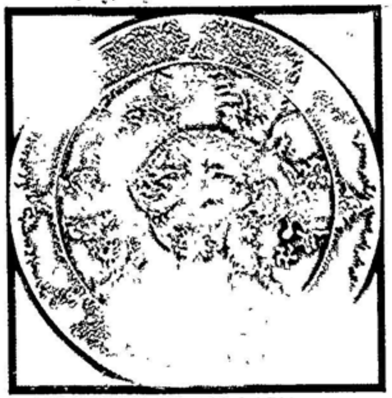

HARI KRISHNA

HARI KRISHNA
Artist: Barbara Nicholds

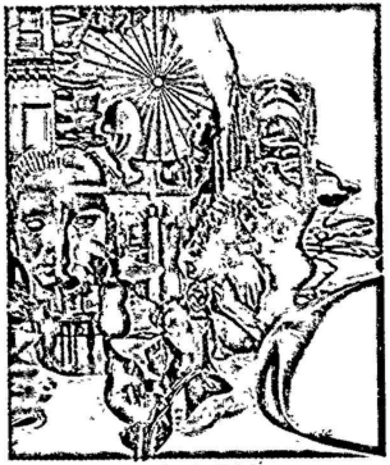


Artist: John Star Cook

THE TAROT SPEAK is a set of 22 miniature posters (7¼″ x 12″).
These are the 22 major trump of the Tarot. Each card is you, as you read it.
Each set of 22 posters, **$5.95**
Way-shower (only) available as a 23″ x 35″ poster, $2.00



MUSHROOM LADY
Artist: Anonymous



ASS ID EGG
Artist: Nick Nicholds

EAST TOTEM WEST

Explorations by the San Francisco Artists

☐ FULL COLOR CATALOG AVAILABLE—1.00

Posters pictured:

☐ WHITE RABBIT	23″x35″	$1.50
☐ MORNING STAR	23″x35″	2.00
☐ AWAKENING	23″x35″	2.00
☐ AMERICAN SHAKTI	23″x35″	2.00
☐ CRY FREEDOM	23″x35″	2.00
☐ EVENING RAGA	23″x35″	1.50
☐ CHESHIRE CAT	23″x35″	1.50
☐ HARI KRISHNA	15″x20″	1.50
☐ ASS ID EGG	23″x28″	2.00
☐ MUSHROOM LADY	23″x23″	2.00
☐ WAY SHOWER	23″x35″	2.00
☐ INDIAN ELEPHANT (A Cut Out Creation)	23″x35″	2.00

Posters not pictured:

☐ TOTEM I	23″x35″	$1.50
☐ AQUARIAN AGE	23″x35″	1.50
☐ FLAPPING YOUR ARMS	17″x22″	1.00
☐ LOVE-SPACE	23″x35″	1.50
☐ TURN ON YOUR MIND	23″x35″	1.50
☐ LISTEN SLEEP DREAM	23″x35″	1.50
☐ FLIGHT PATTERNS	23″x35″	1.50
☐ STONE GARDEN	23″x35″	1.50
☐ PIPE DREAMS	23″x35″	2.00
☐ EAST TOTEM WEST	23″x35″	2.00
☐ FLAPPING (BOOK)		2.95
☐ THE TAROT SPEAK (22 Full Color Posters—7¼″x12″)		5.95

East Totem West
Box 549P, Mill Valley, California 94941

Gentlemen:

Please send me the items checked above. I am enclosing a check or money order for $__________.

(Note: Please include 25c for handling charges.)

Name______________________________

Address______________________________

City________________State____________Zip________

DEALERS INQUIRE

Note: Prices in stores on Eastern seaboard slightly higher.

[Page 12] D. H. Lawrence

[Page 20] Israel

.[Page 26] Che's Memoirs

[Page 43] Garrison vs. FBI, CIA, et al.

Ramparts

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 6 JANUARY 1968

LETTERS 6

PERSPECTIVES ON THE MID-EAST

THE POST-WAR ISRAELI LEFT 20
by Maurice Zeitlin
OIL AND THE ARABS 36
by Robert Scheer

THE SUPPRESSED PAINTINGS OF D. H. LAWRENCE

"THE MAN WHO DIED" 12
by Peter Collier
I RISE IN FLAME, CRIED THE PHOENIX 14
a play by Tennessee Williams
THE PAINTINGS 18

ESSAYS

MEMOIRS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR 26
by Che Guevara
THE GARRISON COMMISSION 43
by William W. Turner

Apologia:

SORRY ABOUT GLOOM, gloom, gloom so early in the year, but staff writer William Turner's nine-month investigation into the case of New Orleans DA Jim Garrison has convinced us that something is terribly, and even unusually, rotten in Washington. Turner has had full access to Garrison's files, and has logged 80,000 miles double-checking every factual assertion in Garrison's astonishing reconstruction of President Kennedy's murder, told for the first time in this issue (p. 43). It fulfills, sadly, many of our most paranoid nightmares about the CIA, the Minutemen, Dallas fascists and the American Nazis. It also raises ultimately serious questions about the responsibility of this government and the honesty of our current President. After reading Turner's article, we hope you will join with us in demanding that Johnson release the 200 so-called "classified" documents pertaining to the assassination that are secreted away on vague grounds of "national security"—documents which include evidence of Oswald's right-wing ties and his role as a CIA "double agent." If Johnson's administration has nothing to hide, it should release these records. To refuse would be the ultimate act of cowardice.

In Orange County, where these things can happen, the right-wing populace has taken to petitioning against the use of the mails for the current catalogue of the inventive Princeton children's house, Creative Playthings, because it pictures a boy doll with genitals just where they'd be in the Platonic form for boy. We would quote the language of their objection, but it has no place in a family magazine.

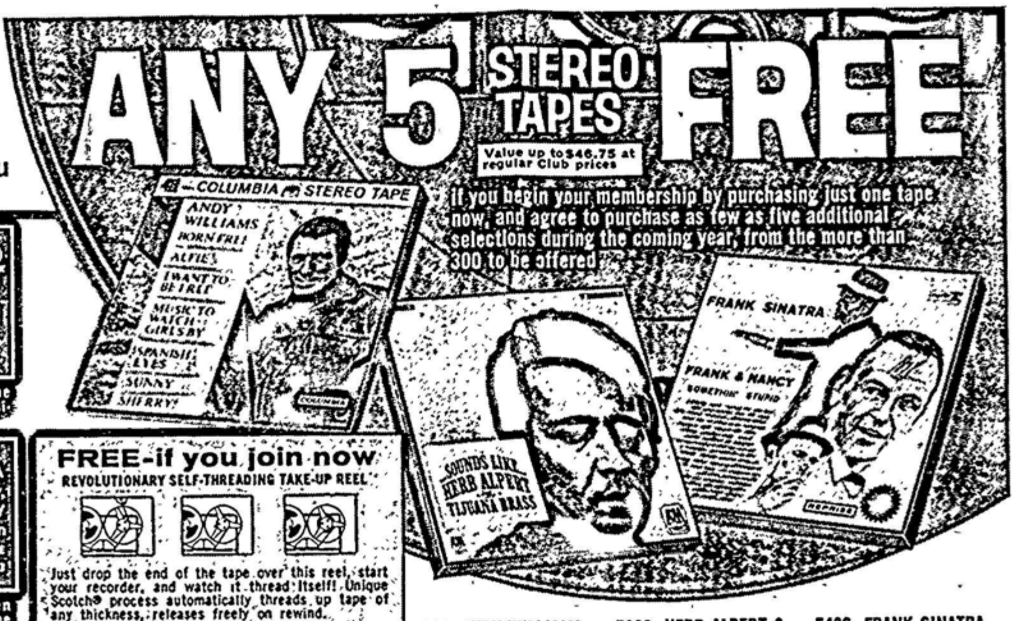
David Horowitz, who writes books the way most of us at RAMPARTS turn out articles (you are justified in asking why we are hiring such a laggard) leaves Lord Russell's London Institute next month to join our growing bureaucracy as head of RAMPARTS' brand-new book division.

Emmet Grogan, the real life Frodo Baggins of the Diggers, the hippie purists who like to give things away, free, has given us, free, a list of suggestions for future essays including, one entitled, "There are Many Things to Be Silent About." Happy New Year. W.H.

Cover photograph by Matt Herron

COLUMBIA STEREO TAPE CLUB

now offers you


COLUMBIA STEREO TAPE
ANDY WILLIAMS
BORN FREE
ALFIE
I WANT TO BE FREE
MUSIC TO WATCH GIRLS BY
SPANISH EYES
SUNNY
SHERRY
SOUNDS LIKE HERB ALPERT TIJUANA BRASS
FRANK SINATRA
FRANK & NANCY
SOMETHIN' STUPID

ANY 5 STEREO TAPES FREE!

Value up to $46.75 at regular Club prices

If you begin your membership by purchasing just one tape now, and agree to purchase as few as five additional selections during the coming year, from the more than 300 to be offered

5233. ANDY WILLIAMS — Born Free. Somewhere My Love, etc.

5368. HERB ALPERT & THE TIJUANA BRASS — Sounds Like. 12 songs.

5486. FRANK SINATRA — The World We Knew (Over And Over). 10 in all

THE SUPREMES
Sing Rodgers & Hart
MOTOWN

5346. Includes: The Lady Is A Tramp, My Funny Valentine, etc.

(ORIGINAL SOUNDTRACK)
CAMELOT
WARNER BROS

5840. "An all-time great screen musical!"—Variety

BERNSTEIN'S GREATEST HITS
NEW YORK PHILHARMONIC
COLUMBIA

5236. Selections from Bernstein's most popular albums.

NANCY SINATRA
Country, My Way
Jackson
10 MORE
REPRISE

5488. Plus: When It's Over, Lay Some Happiness On Me, etc.

FREE—if you join now

REVOLUTIONARY SELF-THREADING TAKE-UP REEL

Just drop the end of the tape over this reel, start your recorder, and watch it thread itself! Unique Scotch® process automatically threads up tape of any thickness, releases freely on rewind.

RAY CONNIFF
"This Is My Song" and other Great Hits
Strangers In The Night
My Cup Runneth Over
Born Free • 7 MORE
COLUMBIA

4785. Plus: Mame; What Now My Love; Sunrise, Sunset; etc.

ROGER WILLIAMS
GOLDEN HITS
• Born Free
• Somewhere, My Love
9 MORE
KAPP

5553. Plus: Maria, Moon River, Yesterday, Dominique, etc.

THE SORCERER'S APPRENTICE
3 OTHER WORKS
COLUMBIA
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
New York Philharmonic

3782. Musical fantasy for the young at heart

DEAN MARTIN
Welcome to My World
PLUS
Little Ole Wine Drinker, Me
In The Chapel In The Moonlight
7 MORE
REPRISE

5546. Also: Pride, Wallpaper Roses, Turn To Me, 10 in all

THE ASSOCIATION
INSIGHT OUT
Windy
10 MORE
WARNER BROS

5370. Plus: We Love Us; Reputation, On A Quiet Night, etc.

FRANK SINATRA
THAT'S LIFE
PLUS
Winchester Cathedral
What Now My Love
REPRISE
7 MORE

3728. Also: The Impossible Dream, Give Her Love, etc.

RAY CONNIFF'S WORLD OF HITS
Twin-pack Tape
SOMEWHERE MY LOVE
23 Songs
COLUMBIA
TWIN-PACK
Counts As Only ONE Selection!

3335. This special Twin-Pack includes two great Ray Conniff albums. Counts as only one selection!

HOROWITZ IN CONCERT
Recorded Live at his 1966 Carnegie Hall Concerts
COLUMBIA

3767-3768. Twin-Pack Counts As Two Selections.

If You Can Believe Your Eyes and Ears
THE MAMA'S AND THE PAPA'S
California Dreamin'
Monday, Monday
DUNHILL
10 MORE

2595. Also: Do You Wanna Dance, Spanish Harlem, etc.

MAGNIFICENT MARCHES
EUGENE ORMANDY
The Philadelphia Orchestra
COLUMBIA

5373. March Of The Boyars, Wedding March, etc.

PERCY FAITH
Today's Themes For Young Lovers
Can't Take My Eyes Off You
Windy
9 MORE
COLUMBIA

5420. Plus: Mary In The Morning, Release Me, etc.

Russian Sailors' Dance
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
New York Philharmonic
COLUMBIA

2875. Works by Grieg, Tchaikovsky, Dvorak, Copland, etc.

THE 4 SEASONS PRESENT FRANKIE VALLI SOLO
Can't Take My Eyes Off You
PHILIPS
9 MORE

5430. Plus: Secret Love, The Trouble With Me, Ivy, etc.

PETER, PAUL and MARY
ALBUM 1700
I Dig Rock And Roll Music
The House Song • 10 MORE
WARNER BROS

5509. Plus: If I Had Wings, Rolling Home, 12 in all

MAHLER:
Symphony No. 8
Symphony of a Thousand
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
The London Symphony Orchestra
COLUMBIA

3764-3765. Twin-Pack counts as two selections

GERSHWIN
RHAPSODY IN BLUE
Spellbound Concerto
Warsaw Concerto
3 MORE
COLUMBIA RECORD CLUB
TWIN-PACK
Counts As Only ONE Selection!

3527. A bargain for lovers of light classics! This special Twin-Pack tape counts as only one selection!

JOHNNY CASH'S
GREATEST HITS, Vol. 1
Ring of Fire • Jackson
I Walk the Line
8 MORE
COLUMBIA

5095. Plus: Orange Blossom Special; It Ain't Me, Babe; etc.

BILL COSBY SINGS
"SILVER THROAT"
Little Ole Man
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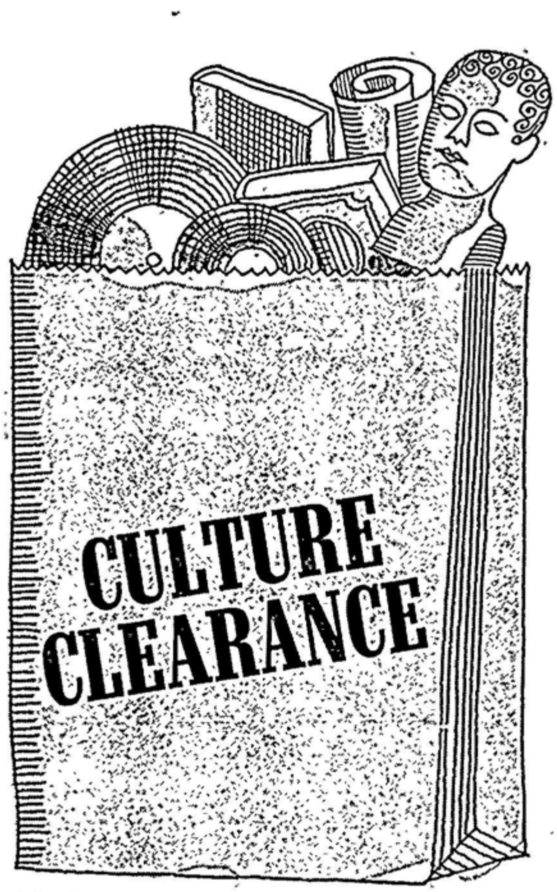

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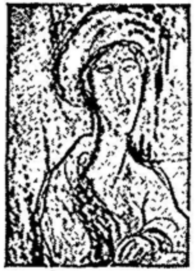

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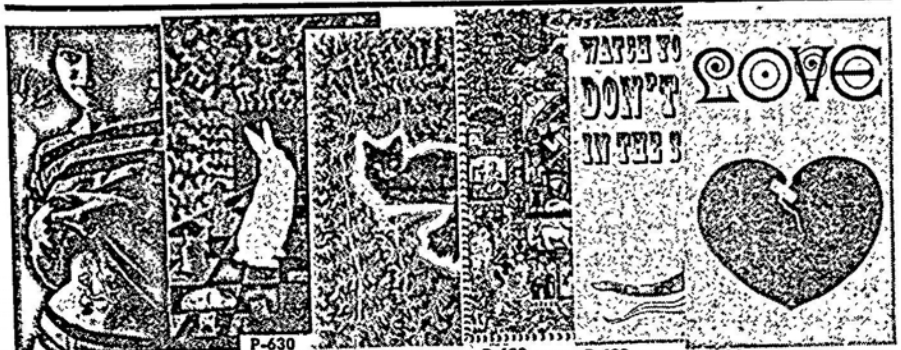

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Letters:

THE BLACK CAUCUS

Sirs: I was discouraged by the attitudes expressed by a majority of the commentators in the Ramparts' November Symposium on the Chicago New Politics Convention. They are attitudes that regularly keep the left splintered: a conviction in each person that his position has a monopoly of the truth, scorn toward those in the movement holding other views, glee that no real gain was made by the convention.

I think it is proper and constructive for spokesmen of different points of view to analyze the issues sharply and to advocate their own particular view of what is the best course. This is how the truth is winnowed and recruits gained. But that is quite different from attacks on the motives and intellectual competence of others.

Dr. Benjamin Spock
New York City

Sirs: As a young radical who attended the Conference for Power and Politics in 1966 (the forerunner to the big Chicago convention), and who is engaged in the local structure of the New Left, let me thank you for the masterful "Symposium: Chicago's 'Black Caucus.'" It was an excellent cross-section of opinion which proves to the Establishment that we radicals are here to stay and work.

However, a few of the opinions expressed irk the hell out of me. Carlos Russell, for example, is what C. Wright Mills would call the "grand theorist." He presents some contestable, though interesting theories, and then drowns them out in a fit of pedantic diarrhea. For example: there were *no* "pseudo-radicals" at the Chicago convention, and no radical journalist has said the convention was a "fraud." Otherwise, his was a pretty bad emotional summary of black feelings. Also, Maurice Zeitlin missed the boat completely on many of his own impressions. I refuse to believe that the New Left suffers from political "incapacity." Can he honestly refuse to read and think about the ostensibly significant literature which has emanated from those he so smugly says are suffering from incapacity?

On the whole, the section was well-handled. I, for one, think that the Chicago convention represents the first of *many* such conventions. The black and white radicals must join together, regardless of psychological hang-ups concerning "identity." The blacks must realize that we radicals are not going to monopolize their efforts, so they needn't get hot and bothered. Likewise, the white radicals must expunge the Establishment liberals from their midst. That is what the Black Caucus did. And this is its most important contribution.

Stephen E. Pickering
Former Vice-Chairman, CORE of
Bakersfield, California

Sirs: Thank you for printing the "Symposium" in the November Ramparts, and thanks to the contributors as well, for their almost child-like candor in expressing themselves about the NCNP convention in Chicago this year. On the whole, I should say that a reexamination of conscience and of the psychological springs of their attitudes would seem to be in order.

In 19th century France politicians sometimes found themselves in situations where, as the expression cynically put it: *On a fait la droite avec la gauche.* It has remained for the 20th century power-seekers to reverse the cliché, so that with a like cynical honesty, it ought to read: *On fait la gauche avec la droite.*

Jule Brousseau
Stamford, Connecticut

CATHOLIC CONFESSIONS

Sirs: Mr. Hinckle's article on the New Left Catholics [Ramparts, November 1967] was most enjoyable and timely. I was surprised, however, that he remembered the Immaculate Conception as being a question of biology, since he mentioned having 16 years of Catholic education behind him. I think if he checks, he will find that the biological circumstances surrounding the event are thought by all to be quite standard.

P. J. Mackin
Washington, D.C.

Sirs: Ah, come on now, Warren baby! Go to confession and get rid of all that hostility and aggression.

Marie Setran
Garden Grove, California

Sirs: I read "Left Wing Catholics" before I went to my Catholic "instructions." Upon arriving, I made a rancid comment on how much the instruction resembled a Nazi youth group. The nun gagged on it.

Then I began a discussion of Fr. Groppi. For good measure, I threw in names like Hafner and DuBay. By the time class adjourned, I was being treated with awe and respect. My source—a good Catholic magazine—Ramparts.

Grimly Bryant
Streator, Illinois

Sirs: I guess Jesus Christ really was a left wing Catholic. He was so left wing, in fact, that he must have been Jewish.

Douglas Greener
New York City

Sirs: The article on New Left Catholics is a good one. I was particularly taken by the cover. You must have saved one of those holy cards which the nuns used to give as a reward for ransoming those pagan babies. Surely they don't make pictures like that any more.

I doubt that you would have treated Bishop Sheen so kindly, if the rhetoric of your article did not require it. When I read that Sheen was the leader of the liberals, I wondered if that man had

Drawings by Benedict Koclan

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conned even Ramparts. However, except for that brief aberration, I thought that the section on him clearly showed the man's ambiguity.

Herman J. Walz
Rochester, New York

Sirs: Regarding Mr. Hinckle's article, I find your left-leaning typical of your biased and bigoted presentations.

Placing God's picture on the bottom and to the right is not only degrading for us Catholics but is in very poor taste. God's picture among such contemporaries is really outrageous.

P. J. D'Amica
Vineland, New Jersey

BETTER READ THAN DEAD

Sirs: It is but an insult to yourselves that you publish "*The Man Who Cried I Am*" [Ramparts, November 1967] with superior reports like "The Framing of Andreas Papandreou" and "Pacification in Vietnam" in your October issue, and "What the Hell is Happening in the Catholic Church" in November's publication. If you don't have enough intelligent or interesting material to fill 100 pages, for God's sake print 50; don't fill half the mag with pulpish trash.

Suffice it to say that the novel is *dead* as an art form and an effective mode of communication, and that I became *bored* by one "motherfucker" too many! Ramparts is a first-class politically-oriented mag and its subscribers deserve something far removed from Mr. Williams' tiresome babblings.

Ralph Cato
Montclair, New Jersey

Sirs: After reading the November issue, I can no longer refrain from protesting your apparent policy of allowing absolute, uninhibited freedom of expression. The article on "Left Wing Catholics" is indeed excellent, modern, thought-provoking and of high moral standard. Every cultured, educated, decent student will be stimulated by reading it. But why must you then inflict on us the filthy excerpts from Ken Kesey's Jail Diary and John A. Williams' *The Man Who Cried I Am*? I appreciate that these authors are protesting injustice, and this is their right, but must they be allowed to use filthy, indecent language and to describe offbeat, immoral sexual behavior in such lurid detail? Is there no censorship?

S. F. Herrmann
Tacoma, Washington

MIDDLE EAST MISGIVINGS

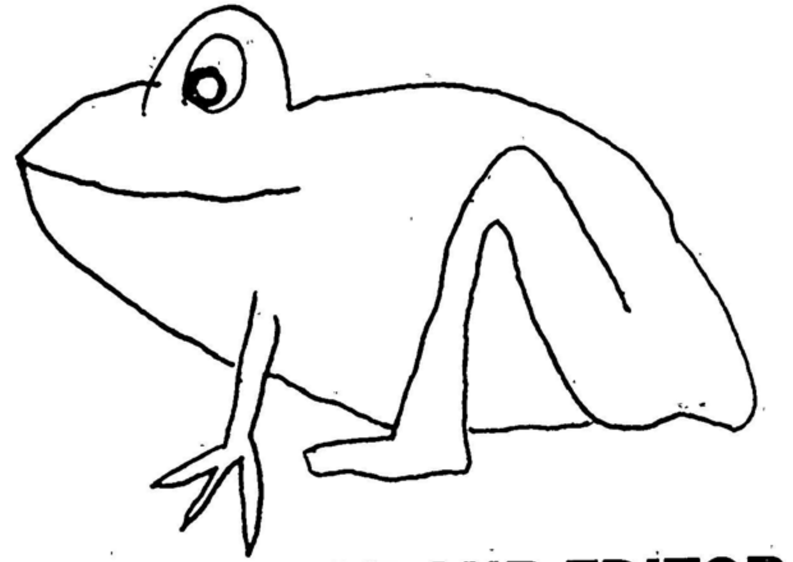
Sirs: Collectively, the articles by I. F. Stone, Robert Scheer, Paul Jacobs and Jean Lacouture add up to a warm appreciation of the big-hearted Socialist, Nasser, along with a thinly-veiled indictment of a fictional saber-rattling Israel, Stone's projected "minuscule Prussia" of the Middle East. I am not concerned with the private emotional gymnastics behind this luridly cockeyed appraisal, but only with its impact on your readers, who, like myself, have come to depend on Ramparts as a citadel of tough-minded devotion to facts.

To begin with the anguished double-talk of Mr. Stone [Ramparts, July 1967]: he bewails the U.N. cease-fire because it permits Israel, "the country which launched the war," to retain "the fruits of aggression" as a bargaining card. Mr. Stone knows better: a page earlier in his article, he makes a vivid case for the Israeli need to depend on *blitzkrieg* as its only possible military response when faced with the threat of extermination.

Mr. Stone is unhappy with Moshe Dayan. That is his privilege. But to equate the Israeli nation with Dayan, and Dayan in effect with Bismarck, is slippery demagoguery of the most incendiary order.

By contrast with his ominous mutterings about Israeli "chauvinism and militarism," Mr. Stone gives us Nasser, "the first Egyptian ruler to give Egypt's downtrodden fellahin a break." This is a strange way to characterize the wanton sacrifice of thousands of peasants' sons, forced into Army service, to Nasser's dreams of a 20th century caliphate. Who does Mr. Stone think did the dying in the Sinai desert? Not Nasser and his tennis-club, swagger-stick generals.

As for Mr. Scheer's attempt [Ramparts, November 1967] to fit Nasser with a halo: it requires enormous naiveté, in the context of Middle East politics and especially of Nasser's established talent for manipulating the Cairo masses, to believe the dictator was "sincere" in resigning; yet Mr. Scheer rises to the occasion. If Nasser was indeed astonished by the public response to his gesture, he knew less about his own



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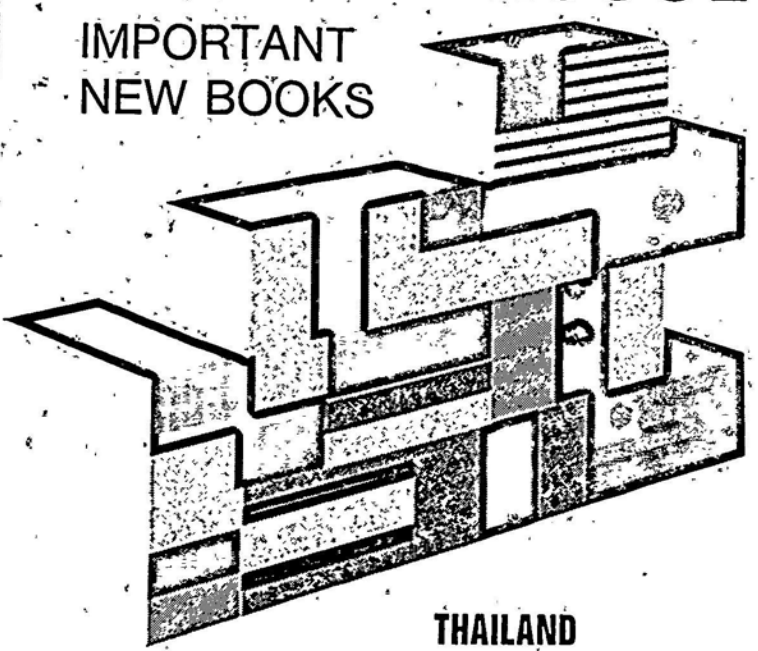

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EDWARD O. (TED) BERKMAN
New York City

SIRS: It is a fact that most American newspapers and magazines are rabidly anti-Arab and disgustingly pro-Israel. From time to time, however, one encounters a journalist with a clear conscience who tries to be objective. Naturally, the writings of such journalists enrage American Zionists and "civilian volunteers" just returning from Israel, who then fall back on their standard mawkish stories and nefarious lies about Arab brutality and hatred for Israel. The same gentlemen, however, always fail to tell their readers how much love the *Israelis* have for the Arabs. Perhaps the distinguished writers are of the opinion that the backward and belligerent Arabs are unworthy of the love of The Chosen People. We have experienced their love in its most wanton and malicious form, in the form of napalm bombs falling on hospitals and refugee camps. It would be too much to expect to see pictures of napalm-burnt Arabs in American papers, but I have a stock of such pictures for any person who wishes to see for himself just one example of Israel's many acts of love!

MUHAMMAD H. IBRAHIM
Princeton, New Jersey

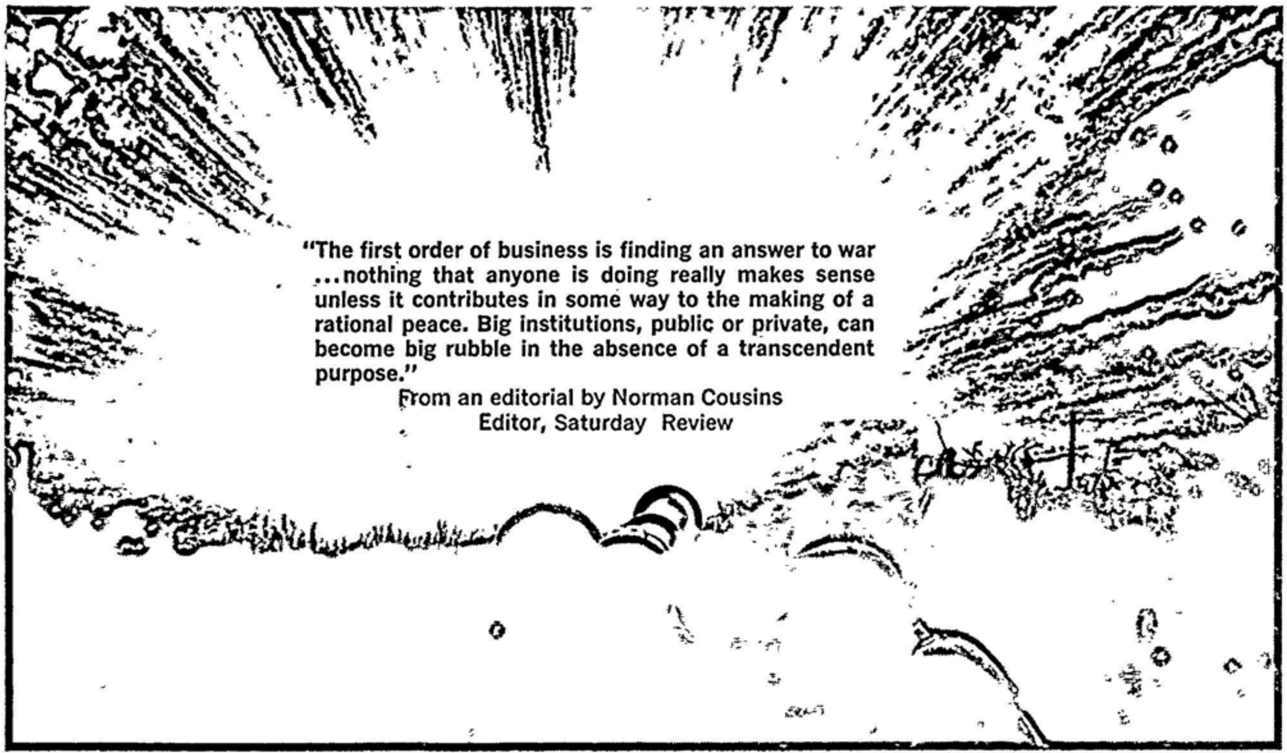
TONGUE IN CHIC

SIRS: It was nice to learn from the December issue of your magazine that you read Women's Wear Daily even before "Peanuts." We read RAMPARTS before "Krazy Kat" whenever we can.

You are certainly correct that in our October 23 coverage of the Washington peace march we wrote about dove fashion. We also wrote a good bit about the people and the issues and quoted at length from participants.

We had two reporters and a photographer on the story all that weekend. Did RAMPARTS cover the march? Or was your Washington stringer (Scottish by birth, patrician in manner) occupied that weekend?

JAMES W. BRADY, Vice President
and Publisher
Women's Wear Daily
New York City



"The first order of business is finding an answer to war ...nothing that anyone is doing really makes sense unless it contributes in some way to the making of a rational peace. Big institutions, public or private, can become big rubble in the absence of a transcendent purpose."

From an editorial by Norman Cousins
Editor, Saturday Review

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Today's expanded Saturday Review is a vital force in the search for world peace.

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- **THE THREE R'S IN CALIFORNIA—REAGAN, THE REGENTS AND THE RIGHT** by William Trombley
- **THE SCHOOLS AND THE PREGNANT TEENAGER** by Susan Strom
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MUS

TAOS IS A FINE MOUNTAIN TOWN, about an hour's drive from Santa Fe, New Mexico. The whole countryside is rugged, the volcanic landscape seemingly having tumbled down from the peaks of the sacred Taos Mountain. There is majesty in the scenery, and also melodrama; that, above all else, impressed D. H. Lawrence when he arrived there in 1922.

However, he found other attractions besides the view. The Taos area offered him sanctuary from the carping, small-minded world of letters which rejected him as subversive. And there was also an active Indian pueblo in which Lawrence saw fascinating glimpses of the primitive life-style which later made its way into his writing, offering a partial alternative to desiccated modern life.

Taos had all the lively ingredients of an artists' colony long before Lawrence conferred instant immortality upon the area by making it the focus of his American adventures. Although Lawrence stayed in Taos only intermittently and has been dead now for more than 35 years, one immediately senses that his legend has permanently embraced the town; it has become as crucial to its identity as the thin, mentholated air, the violent pastel sunsets and the Indians.

Lawrence came to America grudgingly, only after insistent invitations and guarantees of security from Mabel Dodge Luhan, a wealthy immigrant from Park Avenue and lioness of Taos culture in the '20s. Mrs. Luhan was one of countless women magnetically attracted to Lawrence throughout his lifetime; relationships which were usually based on a combination of sex and transcendentalism. He was, however, too seasoned a sufferer to bring many illusions with him. Shortly after arriving in Taos, he wrote back to Europe: "Everything in America goes by *will*. A great negative *will* seems to be turned against all spontaneous life—there seems to be no *feeling* at all—no genuine bowels of compassion and sympathy: all this gripped, iron, *benevolent* will, which in the end is diabolic."

These are, of course, familiar figures of speech from the apocalyptic language Lawrence adopted in his novels to preach to an age which he saw as rationally mad, a civilization whose vital juices he envisioned as drying up at the source. He wearily accepted America as a temporary but not an especially congenial refuge from the repressions and harassment that stalked his artistic life. Taos was a brief stopover on what one of Lawrence's friends called his "savage pilgrimage."

Aside from the legions of dissertation writers and scholars who migrate to Taos as if it were Mecca, the Lawrence legend has accumulated some interesting ironies over the years. There is, for instance, the cloak and dagger work that goes on between competing university libraries for the remaining relics of his literary remains. Lawrence would have found this activity sadly irrelevant, especially because the bibliophiles are after his works, not the message in them. But he would probably have been amused that Mrs. Luhan used the manuscript of *Sons and Lovers*—which she was given in exchange for her Taos ranch—to pay her psychiatrist's bill. Most ironic of all, however, is the way that Lawrence was enshrined in Taos, reigning as the town's favorite *poltergeist*. In 1935, Frieda, his wife, had his body exhumed from its grave in France and then cremated. The ashes were placed in the shrine erected to Lawrence's memory on the grounds of the ranch. Phoenix-like, Lawrence has arisen from the ashes to become a major factor in Taos' life.

PART OF THE LAWRENCE LEGEND is what the Grove Press biography—reissued with a flashy cover during the halcyon days of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*—calls his "volcanic life and loves." His life was indeed explosive, but Lawrence was no Frank Harris. By and large, Frieda was the only woman in his life. Their marriage seems to have been intense and demanding enough to keep both of them busy; in Lawrence's own favorite symbolic terms, the relationship simultaneously devoured and renewed. But innumerable other women, like Mrs. Luhan, insisted on idolizing their messiah. They are all gone now—all except Dorothy Brett, whose relationship with Lawrence was the most peculiar and un-Lawrencean of all.

Brett, as she prefers to be called, was born in 1883, the daughter of Viscount Esher. From her stock of aristocratic memories she can look back on dancing lessons with Queen Victoria's grandchildren, a presentation at court before she was 20, and attendance at the coronation of Edward VII. Her family was part of the landless aristocracy which insisted upon carrying on as if the First World War hadn't permanently severed relations with Victorianism. They were shocked when Brett decided to go to art school. They were dismayed when she became a member of Lawrence's informal bohemian entourage in the '20s.

When Lawrence returned to New Mexico in 1924, Brett accompanied him and Frieda. And, except for brief trips to Mexico, England and Italy, where she last saw Lawrence in 1926, she has remained there ever since.

In the memoirs she is putting into book form, Brett says of her relationship with Lawrence: "Intuitively, I understood him. I never encroached on his life, or Frieda's with him. Yet instinctively, intuitively, I was close to him. This is what enraged Frieda.... Frieda's colossal femaleness bitterly hated my lack of femaleness.... It was not 'love' or 'being in love' that was paramount in our friendship. It was this other, deeper, more subtle thing that flashed up and gleamed between us through everything."

After Lawrence's death, Brett remained in Taos, carrying out one of his old fixations by involving herself artistically in Indian culture. She is almost Faulknerian in that she has "endured." That lack of "femaleness," one senses, may have allowed her to outlast all the others. Today, her paintings are beginning to be collector's items, primarily, one suspects, because of her intimate connection with the Lawrence saga.

Despite his basic fondness for Brett as a loyal companion and his obvious admiration for the fact that she made few demands on his already stretched spirit, Lawrence sometimes became irritated by Brett. He often refers to her in his letters as "the Brett," almost as if she were an annoying contrivance. He mentions her near-deafness in exasperation, along with her ubiquitous ear trumpet called "Toby." Toby is gone now, having long ago been replaced by a less flamboyant hearing-aid. But one feels something like Lawrence's unspecified irritation, although probably for a much different reason, toward this charming woman, whose lined, 85-year-old face is softened by a sort of implacable goodwill. When I talked to Brett recently, it struck me that, like most people who have lived history as opposed to analyzing it, she hadn't stored up much privileged information. The people she had known—including Pound, Yeats, Robinson Jeffers, Stieglitz, Stokowski and a host of others—and the historical currents

Portrait of Hon. Dorothy Brett by Baron Wolman

by Peter Collier

she was caught up in failed to make a lasting impression. She seems to have accepted the milieu she moved in during the '20s as passively as the weather.

The Lawrence Brett remembers was no existential hero doing epic battle with the rules. "You know," she says nostalgically, "the thing I remember most about Lawrence was that he was so charming. That's what has stayed with me all these years."

CASUALLY MIXED IN among Brett's paintings at the Manchester Galleries—of which she is co-owner along with her friend and next-door neighbor, John Manchester—is a carelessly framed painting by D. H. Lawrence. It is a fairly innocuous study of a family, all nude, and is modestly priced at $2000. Three miles away, in the center of Taos, are six more of Lawrence's paintings, each priced at $15,000.

Saki Karavas, an engaging Greek, owns Taos' La Fonda Hotel, as well as the Lawrence canvases. On the entrance to his building, there is a lettered placard notifying the public that the largest single collection of Lawrence's paintings is inside, and that they are the same notorious works that were confiscated by Scotland Yard in 1929 when the Warren Galleries tried to stage a showing of them in London. Visitors pay one dollar to enter Karavas' private office and view the "erotica."

Probably for many people, the experience is a let-down. The nudes aren't nearly as "erotic" as most bus terminal graffiti. Brett commented, "Neither Lawrence's painting nor his writing was really erotic in the usual sense of the word. He wasn't so much for the erotic as he was against shabbiness. Respect for the self and the body was what he was preaching. He was against the sort of shabbiness that wanted to burn his paintings and his books." Even their present owner admits that the Lawrences don't do much for him.

Brett insisted that Lawrence "painted for relaxation, just the way that he used to do carpentry up at the ranch." It was purely a hobby; she remembers how he would dabble in her own uncompleted canvases. "He didn't have much technical skill as a painter," she says, "and hardly any pretensions."

One suspects that Lawrence's desire to rescue his paintings, when the London magistrates were considering putting them to the torch, was due more to his inability to allow English philistinism to triumph over him than to any intense investment he had in his art. "No more crucifixions, no more martyrdoms, no more *autos-da-fé* as long as time lasts, if I can help it," he wrote from the Continent during the crisis.

The paintings were eventually saved when Frieda promised to take them out of England. After her death they became the property of Angelo Ravagli, her last husband. He, in turn, sold them to Karavas, it is rumored, at a reasonably low price.

Saki Karavas has files of correspondence about his art. He seems to realize that the possession of a fragment of Lawrence has temporarily enfranchised him as an Important Man in the literary world. The University of Nottingham, near Lawrence's birthplace, would like to have the paintings, as would the University of Texas, which prides itself on having the largest collection of Lawrence memorabilia in the world. There are also letters from Playboy and Eros regarding the photographic features of the paintings. "I know they're valuable," Saki says cagily, "because Aga Khan was once interested in them." He feels that all he has to do is wait and he'll get his price. He probably will: the Lawrence market in Taos is always bull.

I Rise In Flame, Cried The Phoenix

by Tennessee Williams

A play about D. H. Lawrence
With a note by Frieda Lawrence

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A PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR: The action of this play, which is imaginary, takes place on the French Riviera where D. H. Lawrence died.

Not long before Lawrence's death an exhibition of his paintings was held in London. Primitive in technique and boldly sensual in matter, this exhibition created a little tempest. The pictures were seized by the police and would have been burned if the authorities had not been restrained by an injunction. At this time Lawrence's great study of sexual passion, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, was likewise under the censor's ban, as much of his work had been in the past.

Lawrence felt the mystery and power of sex as the primal life urge, and was the lifelong adversary of those who wanted to keep the subject locked away in the cellars of prudery. Much of his work is chaotic and distorted by tangent obsessions, such as his insistence upon the woman's subservience to the male, but all in all, his work is probably the greatest modern monument to the dark roots of creation.

—Tennessee Williams

A NOTE BY FRIEDA LAWRENCE: *This book has a beautiful title. When I read this short play, I forgot that it was supposed to be Lawrence and me; it happens in that other world where creation takes place. The theme of it is the eternal antagonism and attraction between man and woman. This was between Lawrence and me too. But the greater reality was something else. I wish I could say in convincing words what it was—it is difficult. What was it? It was so different from the ordinary everyday being-in-love, that has its limits so very soon. It was life in its freedom, its limitless possibilities, that bound us together. In our poverty the whole world with everything in it was ours. It was living every moment, not only existing day by day. All that happened was a new experience. Because of the background of death, every happen-*

ing was more vivid. Die we must, and no "Forest Lawn" can wipe death out.

Lawrence infused new meaning into the written word, by going deeper than the surface. We have had a lot of surface. We have become bored. Lawrence faced his dying with clear courage, he lived it right through. When finally it was over for him and he lay dead on his bed, I felt a triumph in him. He was dead, but he had died with an unbroken spirit, he had lived in superb honesty and the pride of a man.

When I think of him now after all these years, it is as if a kind wind blew on my flame of life to make it burn brighter. He will do the same for others, if they give him a chance.—Frieda Lawrence

The characters in this play are Lawrence, Frieda and Bertha.

The scene is at Vence, France, in the Alpes-Maritimes.

It is late afternoon.

Lawrence is seated on a sunporch, the right wall of which is a window that faces the sun. A door in this wall opens out on the high seacliff. It is windy: the surf can be heard. Lawrence looks out that way. Behind him, on the left wall, woven in silver and scarlet and gold, is a large banner that bears the design of the Phoenix in a nest of flames—Lawrence's favorite symbol.

He sits quite still. His beard is fiercely red and his face is immobile, the color of baked clay with tints of purple in it. The hands that gripped the terrible stuff of life and made it plastic are folded on the black and white checked surface of an invalid's blanket. The long fingers of the Welsh coal miners, with their fine blond hairs and their knobby knuckles, made for rending the black heart out of the earth, are knotted together with a tightness that betrays the inner lack of repose. His slightly distended nostrils draw the breath in and out as tenderly as if it were an invisible silk thread that any unusual tension might snap in two. Born for contention, he is contending with something he can't get his hands on. He has to control his fury. And so he is seated motionless in the sunlight—wrapped in a checkered blanket and lavender wool shawl.... The Tiger in him is trapped, but not destroyed yet.

Frieda comes in, a large, handsome woman of fifty, rather like a Valkyrie. She holds up a fancy package.

LAWRENCE: (*without even turning his head*) What is it?

FRIEDA: Something left on the doorstep.

LAWRENCE: Give it here.

FRIEDA: The donor is anonymous. I only caught a glimpse of her through the window.

LAWRENCE: A woman?

FRIEDA: Yes....

LAWRENCE: Yes....

FRIEDA: Some breathless little spinster in a blue pea-jacket. She stuck it on the porch and scuttled back down the hill before I could answer the doorbell.

LAWRENCE: (*his voice rising, querulously shrill*) It's for me, isn't it?

FRIEDA: *Ja, es ist für dich.*

LAWRENCE: Well, give it here, damn you, you—!

FRIEDA: Tch! I thought that the sun had put you in a good humor.

LAWRENCE: It's put me in a vile humor. We've sat here making faces at each other the whole afternoon. I say to the sun, Make me well, you old bitch, give me strength, take hold of my hands and pull me up out of this chair! But the sun is a stingy *Hausfrau*. She goes about sweeping the steps and pretends not to hear me begging. Ah, well, I don't blame her. I never did care for beggars myself very much. A man shouldn't beg. A man should seize what he wants and tear it out of the hands of the adversary. And if he can't get it, if he can't tear it away, then he should let it go and give up and be contented with nothing. Look. (*He has unwrapped the package.*) A little jar of orange marmalade. (*He smiles with childish pleasure.*) This is the month of August put in a bottle.

FRIEDA: *Ja! Sehr gut.* You can have it for breakfast.

LAWRENCE: (*drawing tenderly on the fine gold thread*) Uh-huh. I can have it for breakfast as long as I live, huh, Frieda? It's just the right size for that.

FRIEDA: Shut up. (*She starts to take the jar from him. Quick as a cat, he snatches her wrist in a steel grip.*)

LAWRENCE: Leave go of it, damn you!

FRIEDA: (*laughing*) My God, but you still are strong!

LAWRENCE: You didn't think so?

FRIEDA: I had forgotten. You've been so gentle lately.

LAWRENCE: Thought you'd tamed me?

FRIEDA: Yes, but I should have known better. I should have suspected what you've been doing inside you, lapping that yellow cream up, you sly old fox, sucking the fierce red sun in your body all day and turning it into venom to spew in my face!

LAWRENCE: No... I've been making a trap. I've been making a shiny steel trap to catch you in, you vixen! Now break away if you can!

FRIEDA: (*grinning and wincing*) Oh, God, how you hurt!

LAWRENCE: (*slowly releasing her*)... Don't lie... You with that great life in you... Why did God give you so much and me so little? You could take my arm and snap it like a dry stick.

FRIEDA: No... You were always the stronger one. Big as I am, I never could beat you, could I?

LAWRENCE: (*with satisfaction*) No. You couldn't. (*His breath rasps hoarsely.*) Put the jar down on the sill.

FRIEDA: (*complying*) Ah, there's a card stuck on it. "From one of your devoted readers." And on the other side it says: "I worship you, Mr. Lawrence, because I know that only a god could know so much about Life!"

LAWRENCE: (*dryly*) In looking for God so unsuccessfully myself, it seems that I have accidentally managed to create one for an anonymous spinster in a blue pea-jacket. Upon the altar of her pagan deity she places a dainty jar of orange marmalade! What a *cynical* little woman she is! Only the little ones of the earth, who scuttle downhill like pebbles dislodged by the rain, are really capable of such monumental disbelief. They find their god and they give him marmalade. If I find mine... ever... If I found mine, I'd tear the heart out of my body and burn it before him.

FRIEDA: Your health is returning.

LAWRENCE: What makes you think so?

FRIEDA: You are getting so sentimental about yourself and so unappreciated and so misunderstood.... You can't stand Jesus Christ because he beat you to it. Oh, how you would have loved to suffer the *original* crucifixion!

LAWRENCE: If only I had your throat between my fingers.

FRIEDA: (*crouching beside him*) Here is my throat... Now choke me.

LAWRENCE: (*gently touching her throat with the tips of his fingers*) Frieda... do you think I will ever get back to New Mexico?

FRIEDA: You will do what you want to do, Lawrence. There has never been any kind of resistance you couldn't jump over or crawl under or squeeze through.

Lawrence: Do you think I will ever get back on a strong white horse and go off like the wind across the glittering desert? I'm not a literary man, I'm tired of books. Nobody knows what an ugly joke it is that a life like mine should only come out in books.

Frieda: What else should it come out in?

Lawrence: In some kind of violent action. But all that I ever do is go packing around the world with women and manuscripts and a vile disposition. I pretend to be waging a war with bourgeois conceptions of morality, with prudery, with intellectuality, with all kinds of external forces that aren't external at all. What I'm fighting with really's the little old maid in myself, the breathless little spinster who scuttles back down the hill before God can answer the doorbell. Now I want to get back on the desert and try all over again to become a savage. I want to stand up on the Lobos and watch a rainstorm coming ten miles off like a silver-helmeted legion of marching giants. And that's what I'm going to do, damn you!

Frieda: Whoever said that you wouldn't?

Lawrence: You! . . . You know that I won't. You know that the male savage part of me's dead and all that's left is the old pusillanimous squaw. Women have such a fine intuition of death. They smell it coming before it's started even. I think it's women that actually let death in. They whisper and beckon and slip it the dark latchkey from under their aprons . . . Don't they?

Frieda: No . . . It's women that pay the price of admission for life. And all of their lives they make of their arms a crossbar at the door that death wants to come in by. Men love death . . . Women don't. Men cut wounds in each other and women stop the bleeding.

Lawrence: Yes. By drinking the blood. Don't touch me so much! (*She releases his fingers.*) Your fingers, they make me feel weaker, they drain the strength out of my body.

Frieda: Oh, no, no, no, they put it back *in, mein Liebchen.*

Lawrence: I want you to promise me something. If I should die, Frieda . . . the moment I'm dying, please to leave me alone! . . . Don't touch me, don't put your hands on me, and don't let anyone else . . . I have a nightmarish feeling that while I'm dying I'll be surrounded by women. They'll burst in the door and the windows the moment I lose the strength to push them away. They'll moan and they'll flutter like doves around the burnt-out Phoenix. They'll cover my face and my hands with filmy kisses and little trickling tears. Alma the nymphomaniac and the virginal Bertha—all of the under- and over-sexed women I've known, who think me the oracle of their messed-up libidos—they'll all return with their suffocating devotion. I don't want that. I want to die as a lonely old animal does. I want to die fiercely and cleanly with nothing but anger and fear and other hard things like that to deal with at the finish. You understand, Frieda? I've still got a bit of the male left in me and that's the part that I'm going to meet death with. When the last bleeding comes, and it *will* in a little while now, I won't be put into bed and huddled over by women. I won't stay in the house, Frieda. I'll open this door and go outside on the cliff. And I don't wish to be followed. That's the important point, Frieda. I'm going to do it alone. With the rocks and the water. Sunlight . . . starlight on me. No hands, no lips, no women! Nothing but . . . pitiless nature . . .

Frieda: I don't believe you. I don't think people want nothing but "pitiless nature" when they're . . .

Lawrence: Frieda! You mean you refuse?

Frieda: No. I consent absolutely.

Lawrence: You give me your promise?

Frieda: *Ja doch! Ganz durch die Ewigkeit!* Now think about something else. I'll go fix tea. (*She starts to go out.*)

Lawrence: (*suddenly noticing something*) Ah, my God.

Frieda: What's the matter?

Lawrence: Put the aquarium on the windowsill.

Frieda: Why?

Lawrence: So I can keep an eye on it. That detestable cat has attacked the goldfish again.

Frieda: How do you know?

Lawrence: How do I know? There used to be *four*, now there's *three*! *Beau Soleil!*

Frieda: She's gone outside.

Lawrence: To lick her chops, God damn her! Set the goldfish bowl on the windowsill.

Frieda: You can't keep them there in the sun. The sun will kill them.

Lawrence: (*furiously*) Don't answer me back, put 'em *there!*

Frieda: *Wie du willst!* (*She hastens to place the aquarium on the sill.*)

Lawrence: You know what I think? I think you *fed* her the fish. It's like you to do such a thing. You're both so fat, so rapacious, so viciously healthy and hungry!

Frieda: Such a fuss over a goldfish!

Lawrence: It isn't just a goldfish.

Frieda: What is it then?

Lawrence: Now that my strength's used up I can't help thinking how much of it's been thrown away in squabbling with you.

Frieda: (*suddenly covering her face*) Oh, Lawrence.

Lawrence: What are you doing? Crying? Stop it. I can't stand crying. It makes me worse.

Frieda: I think you *hate* me, Lawrence.

(*After a moment he shyly touches her arm.*)

Lawrence: Don't believe me . . . I love you. *Ich liebe dich*, Frieda. Put some rum in the tea. I'm getting much stronger, so why should I feel so weak?

Frieda: (*touching his forehead*) I wish you would go back to bed.

Lawrence: The bed's an old tarbaby. I'd get stuck. How do I know that I'd get loose again? Is my forehead hot? (*He recites in a childish treble.*) "Ladybug, ladybug, fly away home, thine house is on fire, thy children will burn!" (*He smiles slightly.*) My mother used to sing that whenever she saw one . . . Simple . . . Most people are so damned complicated and yet there is nothing much to them.

Frieda: (*She starts out, then pauses before the banner.*) Ah, you old Phoenix . . . you brave and angry old bird in your nest of flames! I think you are just a little bit sentimental.

Lawrence: (*leaning suddenly forward*) Tea for three!

Frieda: Who is it?

Lawrence: Bertha! . . . Back from London with news of the exhibition. (*He pulls himself out of the chair.*)

Frieda: What are you doing?

Lawrence: I'm going outside to meet her.

Frieda: Sit down, you fool! I'll meet her. And don't you dare to ask her to stay in this house. . . . If you do, I'll leave! (*She goes out.*)

Lawrence: Cluck-cluck-cluck-cluck!

. . . You think I'm anxious to have more hens around me? (*He wriggles fretfully in the chair for a moment, then throws off the blanket and pushes himself to his feet. Stumbling with dizziness and breathing heavily, he moves to the inside rear door of the porch. He reaches it and pauses with a fit of coughing. He looks anxiously back toward the chair.*) No, no, damn you . . . I *won't!* (*He looks up at the Phoenix, straightens himself heroically and goes out.*)

(*After a few moments Frieda returns with Bertha, a small, sprightly person, an English gentlewoman with the quick voice and eyes of a child.*)

FRIEDA: My God, he's got up!

BERTHA: He shouldn't?

FRIEDA: Another hemorrhage will kill him. The least exertion is likely to bring one on. Lorenzo, where are you?

LAWRENCE: (*from the rear*) Quit clucking, you old wet hen. I'm fetching the tea.

BERTHA: Go back to him, make him stop!

FRIEDA: He wouldn't.

BERTHA: Does he want to die?

FRIEDA: Oh, no, no, no! He has no lungs and yet he goes on breathing. The heart's worn out and yet the heart keeps beating. It's awful to watch, this struggle. I wish he would stop, I wish that he'd give it up and just let go!

BERTHA: Frieda!

FRIEDA: His body's a house that's made out of tissuepaper and caught on fire. The walls are transparent, they're all lit up with the flame! When people are dying the spirit ought to go out, it ought to die out slowly before the flesh. You shouldn't be able to see it so terribly brightly consuming the walls that give it a place to inhabit!

BERTHA: I never have believed that Lorenzo could die. I don't think he will even now.

FRIEDA: But can he do it? Live without a body, I mean, be just a flame with nothing to feed itself on?

BERTHA: The Phoenix could do it.

FRIEDA: The Phoenix was legendary. Lorenzo's a man.

BERTHA: He's more than a man.

FRIEDA: I know you always thought so. But you're mistaken.

BERTHA: You'd never admit that Lorenzo was a god.

FRIEDA: Having slept with him . . . No, I wouldn't.

BERTHA: There's more to be known of a person than carnal knowledge.

FRIEDA: But carnal knowledge comes first.

BERTHA: I disagree with you.

FRIEDA: And also with Lawrence, then. He always insisted you couldn't know women until you had known their bodies.

BERTHA: Frieda, I think it is you who kept him so much in his body!

FRIEDA: Well, if I did he's got that to thank me for.

BERTHA: I'm not so sure it's something to be thankful for.

FRIEDA: What would you have done with him if ever you got your claws on him?

BERTHA: Claws? . . . Frieda!

FRIEDA: You would have plucked him out of his body. Where would he be? In the air? Ah, your deep understanding and my stupidity always!

BERTHA: Frieda!

FRIEDA: You just don't know. The meaning of Lawrence escapes you. In all of his work he celebrates the body. How he despises the prudery of people that want to hide it!

BERTHA: Oh, Frieda, the same old quarrel!

FRIEDA: Yes, let's stop it. What's left of Lorenzo, let's not try to divide it!

BERTHA: What's left of Lorenzo, is something that can't be divided!

FRIEDA: Sh! . . . He's coming.

BERTHA: (*advancing a few steps to the door*) *Lorenzo!*

LAWRENCE: (*He is out of sight as he speaks.*) "Pussycat, pussycat, where have you been?"

BERTHA: (*gaily*) "I've been to London to look at the Queen!"

LAWRENCE: (*coming nearer*) "Pussycat, pussycat, what did you there?"

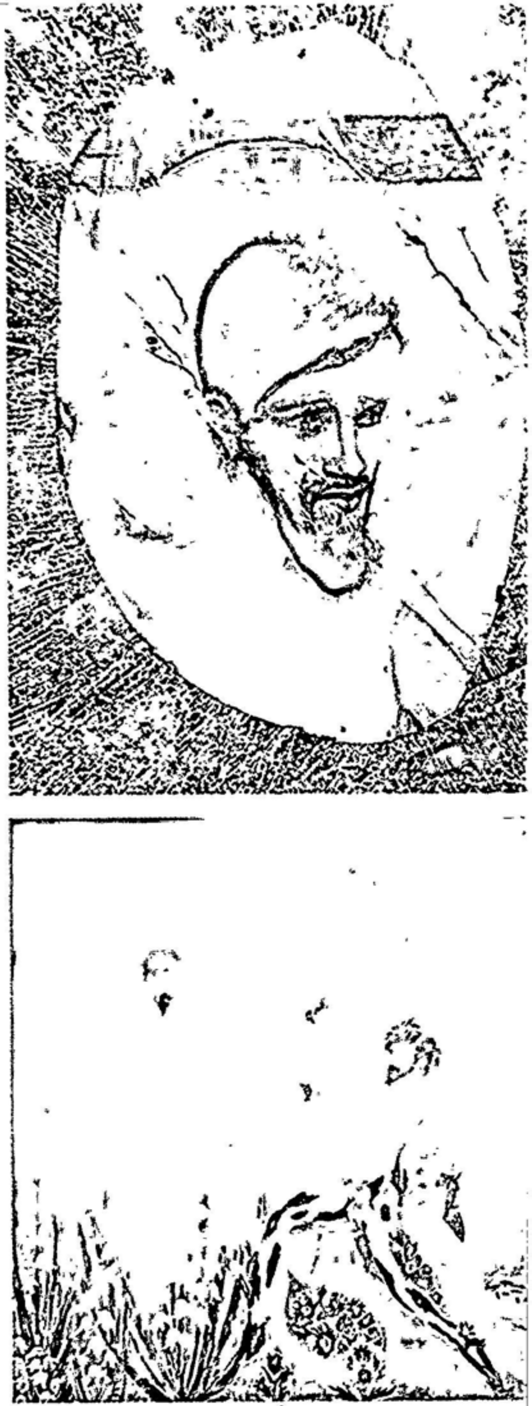
BERTHA (*her voice catching slightly*) "I chased a little mouse . . . under a chair!"

(*Laughing, Lawrence appears in the doorway, pushing a small tea-cart. Bertha stares aghast.*)

LAWRENCE: Yes, I know . . . I know . . . I look an amateur's job of embalming, don't I?

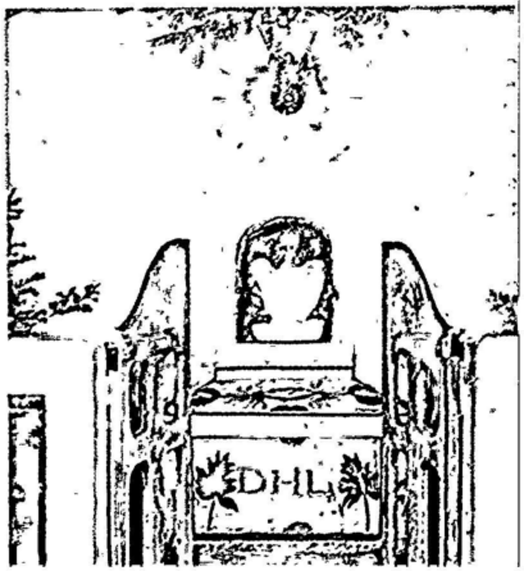
BERTHA: (*bravely*) Lorenzo, you look very well.

LAWRENCE: It isn't rouge, it's the fever! I'm burning, burning, and still I never burn out. The doctors are all astonished. And disappointed. As for that expectant widow of mine, she's almost given up hope. (*Bertha moves to*

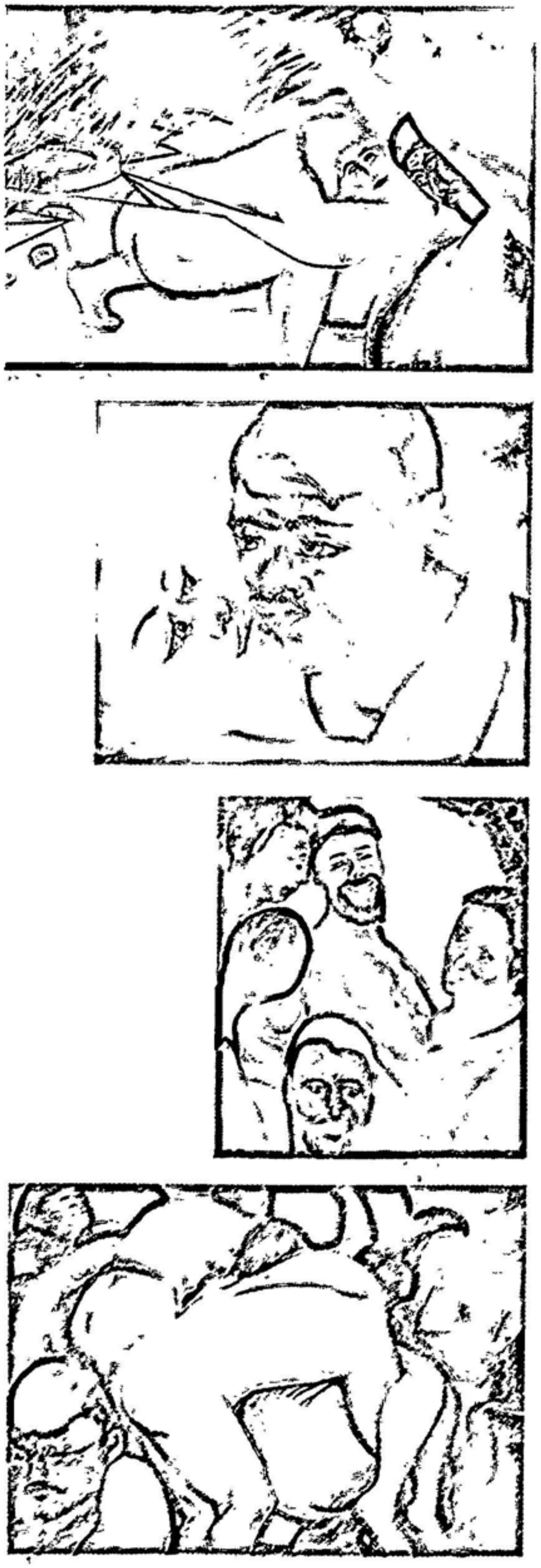


Two Portraits of Lawrence by Hon. Dorothy Brett.

The D.H.Lawrence Shrine in Taos, New Mexico



Photographs by Baron Wolman



Above and Opposite: The "suppressed" erotic series by D.H.Lawrence.

assist him with the table.) Don't bother me. I can manage.

Frieda: He won't be still, he won't rest!

Lawrence: Cluck-cluck-cluck-cluck! You better watch out for the rooster, you old wet hen!

Frieda: A wonderful Chanticleer you make in that lavender shawl!

Lawrence: Who put it on me? *You*, you bitch! (*He flings it off.*) Rest was never any good for me, Brett.

Bertha: Rest for a little while. Then we go sailing again!

Lawrence: We three go sailing again! "Rub-a-dub-dub! Three fools in a tub! The Brett, the Frieda, the old Fire-eater!"

Bertha (*tugging at his beard*) The old Fire-eater!

Lawrence: Watch out! Now I'll have to comb it. (*He takes out a little mirror and comb.*)

Frieda: So vain of his awful red whiskers!

Lawrence: (*combing*) She envies me my beard. All women resent men's whiskers. They can't stand anything, Brett, that distinguishes men from women.

Frieda: Quite the contrary. (*She pours the tea.*)

Lawrence: They take the male in their bodies . . . but only because they secretly hope that he won't be able to get out again, that he'll be captured for good.

Frieda: What kind of talk for a maiden lady to hear!

Lawrence: There she goes again, Brett . . . obscene old creature! Gloating over your celibacy!

Frieda: Gloating over it? Never! I think how lucky she is that she doesn't have to be told a hundred times every day that a man is life and that woman is just a passive hunk of protoplasm.

Lawrence: I never said passive. I always said malignant. (*He puts the comb away and stares in the mirror.*) Ain't I the devil to look at?

Frieda: I tell you, Brett, his ideas of sex are becoming downright cosmic! When the sun comes up in the morning . . . you know what he says? No, I won't repeat it! And when the sun's going down . . . Oh, well, you will hear him yourself.

Lawrence: (*chuckling*) Yes, I always make the same remark. You'll hear me yourself in just a few more minutes . . .
(*He puts the mirror away.*)
Well, Brett!

Bertha: Well, Lorenzo?

Lawrence: You haven't said anything yet.

Bertha: Anything? About what?

Lawrence: What do you think that I sent you to London for?

Bertha: To get me out of the way!

Lawrence: What else? . . . Out with it, damn you! The show! How did they like my pictures?

Bertha: Well . . .

Frieda: Go on, Brett, tell him the truth. The monster will not be satisfied till he hears it!

Bertha: Well . . .

Frieda: The exhibition was a complete fiasco! Just as I said it would be!

Lawrence: You mean that they *liked* my pictures?

Frieda: *Liked* your pictures? They called your pictures *disgusting!*

Lawrence: Ah! . . . *Success!* They said that I couldn't paint? That I draw like a child? They called my figures grotesque? Lumpy, obscene, misshapen, monstrous, deformed?

Bertha: You must have seen the reviews, you've read them yourself.

Lawrence: Why? Am I quoting exactly?

Frieda: Yes, you are quoting exactly!

Lawrence: And what did the public think? And what of the people?

Frieda: The people laughed!

Lawrence: They laughed?

Frieda: Of course they laughed! Lorenzo, you're not a painter, you're a writer! Why, you can't even draw a straight line!

Lawrence: No! But I can draw a *crooked* line, Frieda. And that is the reason that I can put *life* in my pictures! How was the attendance? How many came to look?

Bertha: After the disturbance, the entrance had to be roped off to hold back the crowds.

Lawrence: Disturbance? What disturbance?

Frieda: Just look. The monster's exulting!

Lawrence: Go on, tell me what happened!

Bertha: A group of ladies' club members attempted to slash the picture of Adam and Eve.

(*Lawrence shakes with laughter.*)

Frieda: Lorenzo! Stop that!

Bertha: That was what called the attention of the police.

Lawrence: The police? (*He rises.*)

What did they do to my pictures? Burn them? *Destroy them?*

BERTHA: No. We got out an injunction to keep them from burning the pictures.

LAWRENCE: The pictures are safe?

BERTHA: The pictures are safe, Lorenzo.

FRIEDA: Sit down in that chair or I'll have to put you to bed! (*She tries to push him down. He slaps her fiercely.*)

BERTHA: Lorenzo!

LAWRENCE: Vaunting her power, gloating over my weakness! Put me to bed? Just try it . . . I dare you to touch me!

FRIEDA: Lawrence, sit down in that chair or you'll start the bleeding again. (*He stares at her for a moment and then obeys slowly.*)

LAWRENCE: (*weakly*) Give me back the shawl. The sun's getting weaker. The young blond god is beginning to be seduced by the harlot of darkness . . .

FRIEDA: Now he's going to make his classic remarks on the sunset. (*She puts the shawl about him.*)

LAWRENCE: Yes . . . the pictures . . . they weren't very good but they had a fierce life in them.

BERTHA: They had *you* in them. But why did you want to *paint*, Lorenzo?

LAWRENCE: Why did I want to write? Because I'm an artist . . . What is an artist? . . . A man who loves life too intensely, a man who loves life till he hates her and has to strike out with his fist as I struck out at Frieda . . . To show her he knows her tricks, and he's still the master! (*The smoky yellow light is beginning to dim.*) Oh, Brett, oh, Frieda . . . I wanted to stretch out the long, sweet arms of my art and embrace the whole world! But it isn't enough to go out to the world with love. And so I doubled my fist and I struck and I struck. Words weren't enough . . . I had to have color, too. I took to paint and I painted the way that I wrote! Fiercely, without any shame! *This* is life, I told them, life is like *this!* Wonderful! Dark! Terrific! They banned my books and they wanted to burn my pictures! That's how it is . . . When first you look at the sun it strikes you blind. Life's . . . blinding . . . (*He stirs and leans forward.*) The sun's . . . going down. He's seduced by the harlot of darkness.

FRIEDA: Now he is going to say it . . . Stop up your ears!

LAWRENCE: Now she has got him, they're copulating together! The sun is exhausted, the harlot has taken his strength and now she will start to destroy him. She's eating him up . . . Oh, but he won't stay down. He'll climb back out of her belly and there will be light: In the end there will always be light . . . And I am the prophet of it! (*He rises with difficulty.*)

BERTHA: Lorenzo!

FRIEDA: Lawrence, be careful!

LAWRENCE: Shut up! Don't touch me! (*He staggers to the great window.*) In the end there is going to be light . . . light, light! (*His voice rises and he stretches his arms out like a Biblical prophet.*) Great light! . . . Great, blinding, universal *light!* And *I* . . . I'm the *prophet* of it! (*He staggers and clutches his mouth.*)

FRIEDA: *Lawrence!*

BERTHA: (*terrified*) What is it?

FRIEDA: The *bleeding!*

BERTHA: *Lorenzo!* (*She tries to rush to him but Frieda clutches her arm.*)

LAWRENCE: Don't touch me, you women. I want to do it alone . . . Don't move till it's finished. (*Gradually, as though forced down to the earth by invisible arms, he begins to collapse, but still he clings to the wall and shuffles along it, gasping for breath, until he has reached the door. He opens the door.*) Don't follow! (*He goes out.*)

BERTHA: (*struggling fiercely with Frieda*) Let me go, let me go, I want to go to him.

FRIEDA: I promised "no women"!

BERTHA: You go!

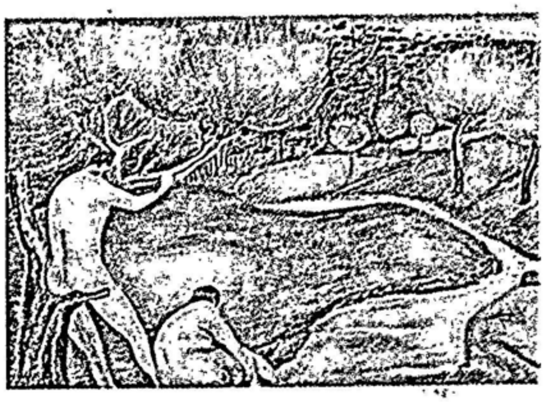
FRIEDA: Nobody, nobody goes to him. Not you, not me, no woman.

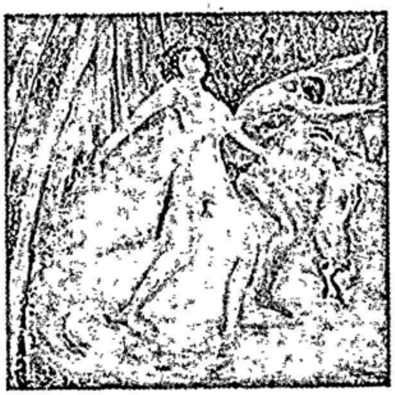
BERTHA: He can't die alone, I won't let him! No human being would let him!

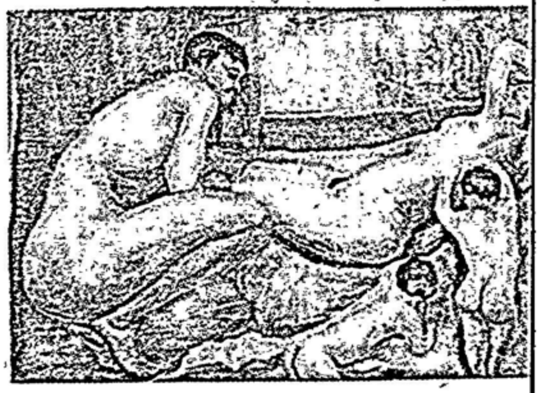
FRIEDA: (*agonized*) I will, I promised, I'll let him! (*The wind blows open the door to the terrace. There is the sound of waves breaking. The silk banner of the Phoenix billows out from the wall. Bertha almost breaks away, but Frieda violently restrains her again. In the struggle the lamp is upset and goes out. Bertha cries* Monster! *and collapses sobbing to the floor. For a few moments, stillness: then faintly, as if from a distance, Lawrence's voice:*)

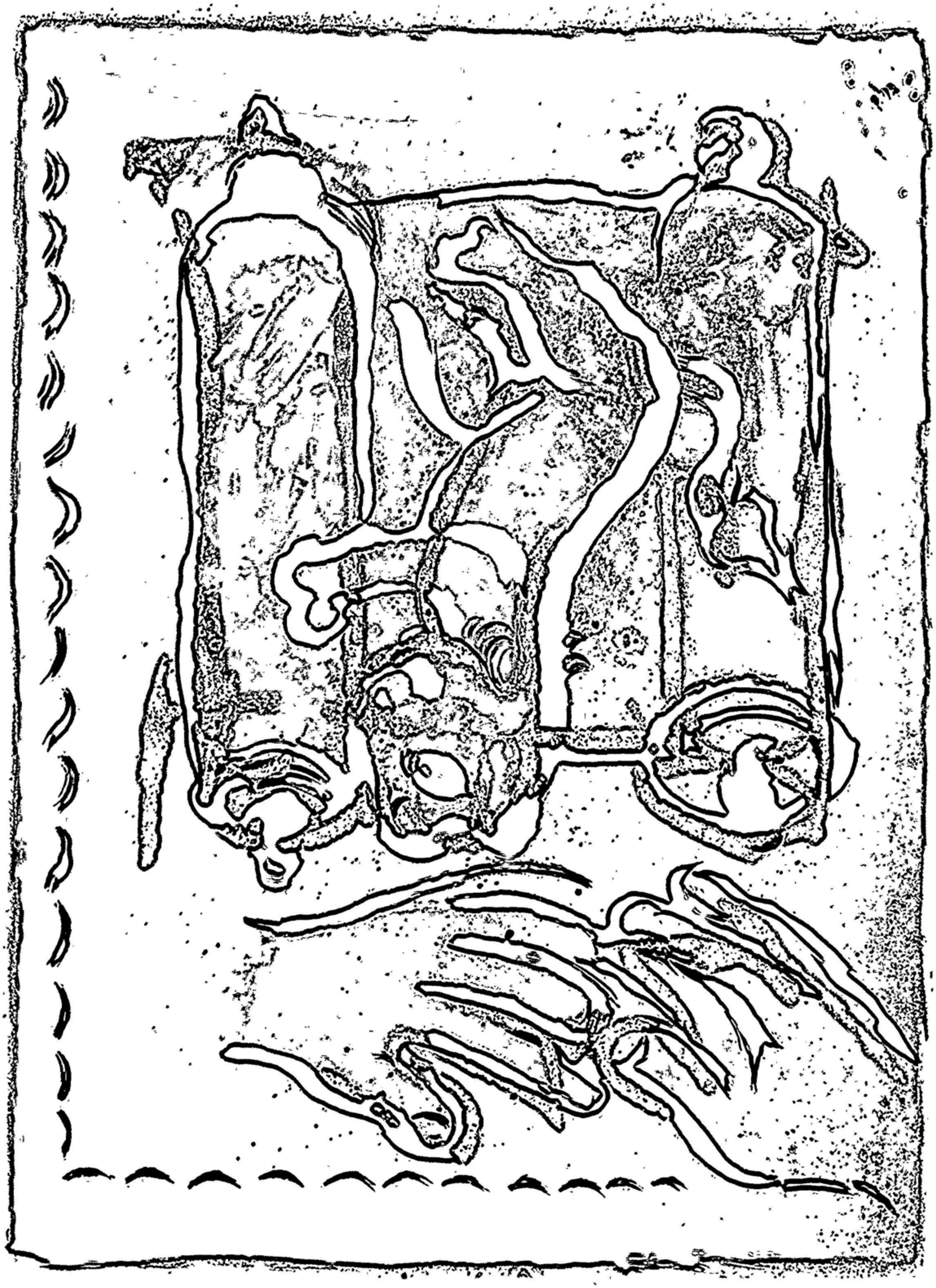
LAWRENCE: *Frieda!* (*All in one instant Frieda thrusts the sobbing woman violently away from her and sweeps out upon the terrace like a great winged bird.*)

FRIEDA: (*Wildly, with infinite tenderness*) *Ich komm', Ich komm', mein Liebchen!*









Original lithograph by Marc Chagall: This, and those on pages 25 and 36 are from Vitraux pour Jerusalem, *a limited edition of 250 copies, signed by Chagall. It was published by André Sauret in collaboration with the artist in France, 1962. The lithographs shown are studies inspired by Chagall's massive series of stained glass windows now in the Synagogue of the Hadassah Medical Center in Jerusalem. We gratefully acknowledge the Boston Book and Art Shop for permission to publish them.*

The Post-War Israeli Left

by Maurice Zeitlin

IN HIS HOME IN KIBBUTZ SDEH BOKER, in the middle of the vast wasteland of southern Israel, David Ben-Gurion, the 81-year-old former prime minister, told me what I had already heard wherever I went and from everyone I spoke to: "I want to keep my people safe. . . . Shouldn't I fight for the safety of my people? Didn't Russia fight together with America against Hitler? Did that make them 'imperialist tools?' Our people have the right to live like any people!"

In Tel Aviv, I heard the same from Moshe Sneh, a very different sort of political man who, some ten years earlier, had been a leader of the left socialist Zionist party, Mapam (United Workers Party), and had split with it, denouncing its alleged failure to be sufficiently pro-Soviet and sympathetic to Arab aspirations. He soon joined the Communist Party of Israel, Maki, and became a leading member of its Central Committee and its major national spokesman in the Knesset (Parliament).

Speaking authoritatively for the Party, he told me unequivocally: "The June war was a war of national defense. We do not accept the nonsense of its being an 'imperialist war.' The policy of Israel's government is full of mistakes—but we are now speaking of the *rights* of a state to exist. Did anyone question the rights of the Spanish people to live because of Franco? To question the rights of the Israeli people to exist, and to choose their own social system, is a new form of anti-Semitism, even if it comes in a 'progressive' guise." In my travels throughout Israel, I was impressed by the consensus on this issue—and other issues, such as the need for direct negotiations—that had been forged between Israelis as politically polar as Ben-Gurion and Sneh by the realities of the six-day war. Based on recent extensive interviews, this article will discuss the view that the left now has of the options open to Israel.

THE REALITY OF ISRAEL has been obscured, as perhaps that of no other country, by polemics and abstractions. Israel is a new country and it is in many ways unique; but you discover that it is also an ordinary country made up of ordinary people, most of whom happen to be Jews. Israel is also an egalitarian and democratic society in which there is a palpable unity between government and people—a unity which is only in part explained by the sense of common danger shared by all Israelis. It is a country whose leaders, for all their failings, participated fully in its very creation and retain a special commitment to the ideals for which it was created. Much of this impression of Israel was summed up in my interview with Ben-Gurion.

He lives some 30 miles south of Beersheba, in the middle of the Negev. Several years ago, 18 young people decided to establish a settlement there—in part because of their commitment to the reclamation of the desert by their own labor. When Ben-Gurion retired from the government several years ago, he joined the settlement, living his belief that theory and practice must be fused.

He has ample perspective: "When I was born in 1886, Zionism was not yet a movement, and if you had counted everyone who spoke Hebrew in Palestine when I first came here, you wouldn't have found more than a few . . . I remember that at the Third Congress of our Party [Zionist Socialist Party], I decided to speak in Hebrew. Everyone but Itzhak Ben-Zvi [who was to be Israel's second President] and his brother walked out. Next time, they stayed. I remember," Ben-Gurion continued, "that in 1912, Ahad Haam [a leader of "Lovers of Zion," one of the original non-political precursors of the Zionist movement] was here. The question of Jewish labor in the settlements—they used to call them 'colonies'—I never liked that word—was being debated, that is, whether Jews could be workers and farmers and build their own homeland. He returned to Odessa convinced that Jews would be the landowners and organize the economy, and the Arabs would be the workers—that there could not be a Jewish working class. And he was wrong! We have 800,000 children in Israel whose mother tongue is Hebrew—everything is being done by Jews—and Arabs, too, of course. So if you ask me about the Zionist vision, I'll tell you—I am not a Zionist."

Ben-Gurion's precept and practice have obviously often been at odds with each other. Many aspects of Israeli society and of its government's domestic and foreign policies have contradicted democratic principle and the commitment to equality and social justice. What is not clear, however, when all legitimate criticisms of Israeli reality have been made, is the extent to which things could, in fact, have been different. One effect of the six-day war has been an especially painful new awareness for Israel's left—that the extent of the real options facing Israel have been far narrower than they realized. If, in fact, a government had been in power in Israel from its inception that was unquestionably dedicated to enlightened and humane domestic policies and consistent neutralist and anti-imperialist foreign policies, how much more could have been accomplished in securing social justice for Jewish and Arab Israelis, and peaceful and cooperative relations with the surrounding Arab regimes? There is no clear answer.

IT IS TRUE THAT WITH NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS, Israel's foreign policies have been pro-Western and closely identified with those of the United States. Her government acted in collusion with Britain and France in 1956 against Nasser's regime. It sought, though it did not obtain, a mutual security pact with the United States. It carried out systematic reprisals against Arab terrorist attacks—many of which far exceeded even a generous definition of "defense." During the Algerian war of independence against France, Israel remained silent, and even intimidated left socialists from making private contacts with Algerian guerrilla leaders.

Military control in Israel's border areas subjected her Arab citizens to persistent infringement on their civil liberties and freedom of movement, until lifted by Prime Minister Eshkol several months before the June war. Israel's Arabs generally live under inferior conditions compared to her Jewish population, although most Arab Israelis are wage earners. The state's use of eminent domain has been disproportionately directed against Arab citizens. On the question of the Arab refugees, the Israeli government's posture—while in many ways rational and correct, and far less obdurate than the position of the Arab regimes—has been constricted by a military definition of reality, and all but summed up by Ben-Gurion's phrase, "not a single refugee." Even with her limited means and absorptive capacity, some refugees might have been resettled within Israel's borders. Even the Histadrut, Israel's central labor organization, did not give Arab workers the full rights of membership until 1959, under the pressure of the left.

None of these strictures can be seriously denied—at least by sensible men. In fact, they have been consistently made by Israelis themselves—some of them of the stature of the late philosopher Martin Buber—especially those on the socialist left represented by Mapam. What, however, were Israel's real options? Had Israel's government not collaborated with France and Britain in the 1956 Sinai campaign, how radically would that have altered the dedication, public and vociferous, of the Arab regimes to the destruction of the State of Israel? The options available to Israel were few, and the left socialists could suggest no more than greater "wisdom" and restraint and an appeal to "all countries" that they sell arms to Israel. Had the Israeli government publicly supported or even privately encouraged ties with the Algerian nationalist movement, its one more or less sure source of major weaponry, the French government would have been alienated. Where could Israel have turned—to the hostile Soviet Union?

A MAJOR CONSEQUENCE OF THE 1948 war—a war provoked and begun by reactionary *comprador* Arab regimes—was the mass flight of hundreds of thousands of Arabs from the territory of the newly established State of Israel. They were encouraged by the radio propaganda of the Arab regimes, and the exodus took place despite the Israelis' attempt to *stop* it. During what followed—the immigration of the survivors of the Nazi concentration camps, and the need to defend against regimes sworn to destroy Israel—how much could Israel have done, and how much could be demanded of her? Everything that could be done was demanded of her by Israel's own left, even in the face of the *revanchisme* of the Arab regimes and their own unwillingness to help the Arab refugees in any way.

As to the military rule in the border areas containing most Israeli Arabs, that too was condemned and opposed by many Israelis, not only of the left, but even within the center parties. And it was finally lifted. One of the important questions is the extent to which the Arabs would have been more fully integrated into Israeli life had problems of military security not confronted them so overwhelmingly.

Given the limits of Israel's incomparable security situation, and the fact that there were close to 300,000 unassimilated Arabs in Israel, the question was how to deal with them. The position of Mapam was and is that Israelis are Arabs and Jews. Not that there are Arabs and Israelis. And that the Israeli Arabs should and could be fully incorporated into the body politic. Mapam and its precursors did it, at least in practice. Mapam was the only party—aside from the Communists—to have Arabs as full members. And where Mapam has a strong base among the Arabs, as in Nazareth, the relationship between Arab Israelis and Jewish Israelis is the kind the party dreamed about. That dream has not been abandoned despite the situation today. Mapam criticized the Ben-Gurion government for treating the Arabs only as a potential fifth column, a viewpoint that resulted in the ruling ideology that the only thing the Arabs understand is force.

"Some of the Arabs, ruled by hostile governments, *were* right on the other side of the order. There was truth in this. We said that we had to take the risk," Yaakov Chazam, a Mapam leader, told me. "If there was a problem of security, then we should have strengthened the Army but given full civil liberties to the Arabs in Israel. If you consider Arabs on the border a security problem, put more troops there! This was a dangerous way, but it was the only just way. Life means to build in danger. The Arabs either are a bridge of peace or a wall of hate. If they live here as second-class citizens, they will be the latter. Of course, the Arabs have received major benefits as citizens of Israel, but always hesitantly and tardily. The proof that we were right about friendship was shown in this [the six-day] war. The Arabs of Israel did not stand against us, and many stood with us."

Even if unity were forged in Israel between Arab and Jew, it must be emphasized that there are two questions—that of peace with the surrounding Arab regimes and that of social justice and social equality for Israeli Arabs. The status of the Arabs within Israel (and Israel's willingness to bend on the Arab refugee question) and the Arab regimes' postures toward Israel are not demonstrably connected—though left socialists believe they are. In the course of my research since the June war and the re-thinking of my critique of Israel's policies, I have become persuaded that even had the left socialists been in power, and had Israel's Arab citizens been treated with the fullest justice, the policies of the Arab regimes would not have changed significantly, nor would their unmitigated and unrelenting hatred of Israel and commitment to its destruction.

The policies of the Arab regimes were never motivated by the plight of the Arab refugees, for whom they have demonstrated little genuine concern, and whom they have maintained in perpetual degradation. Lebanon is the one country in which anything like resettlement of refugees from Palestine actually took place, and it has been the least *revanchiste* of the Arab regimes, refraining from entering this June's six-day war. Iraq alone could easily have absorbed all the Arab refugees. Only the will of the Arab regimes has been lacking, because the plight of the refugees served their political purposes.

THE ONE OVERRIDING FACT which cannot be understood until one is there is the extent to which "national survival" is important in tiny Israel. To speak of travel between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and Beersheba, is to speak of the distance from Princeton to New York. It means, in other words, that had the Israelis not succeeded in winning the war in six days, and carrying it to Arab territory, they would have been destroyed. This is neither rhetoric nor a cliché.

When you stand across the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road from Latrun, which was the site of a major Arab-Israel battle in 1948, and you see Latrun (now a Trappist Monastery) up on a hill overlooking the road, you realize that only several hundred yards separated Israeli settlements from Jordanian troops. It then becomes clear what an Israeli, especially if he lives on the border, means when he says that his existence, his life, depended on whether or not he won the war in June, and on whether Israel can now secure more viable borders.

The security problem and the border situation and the question of death and life in Israel are inseparable. For those of us who live in a country of vast frontiers, it is an abstraction to talk about "territorial acquisition." For the Israelis, maintaining their hold on Latrun and the old road between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem is vital. They cannot return to the border situation they had before.

As to Arab intentions, Israelis will readily tell you that Azzam Pasha, then secretary general of the Arab League, stated the Arab war aims on May 15, 1948 (as reported by the BBC that day), quite clearly: "This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades." They will remind you that Ahmed Shukairy, who now claims to be leading a "war of national liberation," and who directs the so-called Palestine Liberation Organization and talks so glibly of anti-imperialism, is a reactionary landlord who first headed the Syrian delegation and then the Saudi Arabian delegation to the U.N. before suddenly donning his new anti-imperialist clothes. But his aims have not changed since he was a representative of the Palestine Arab High Committee before the U.N. and stated (as recorded in the Official Records of the General Assembly, May 15, 1948, p. 650): "The war aims of the Arabs were the elimination of the Jewish State." The position of the Arab regimes was stated again, after the six-day war, by General Abdul Rahman Arif of Iraq: "The existence of Israel," he said on June 28, 1967, "is in itself an aggression and must therefore be repulsed, and there must be a return to a normal situation."

In our interview, Ben-Gurion avoided getting entangled in a full discussion of his views on how to resolve the problem of the occupied areas. He did say that the Sinai, which was never historically a part of Palestine, nor directly of strategic value to the State of Israel, would probably be returned to Egypt, once an agreement for its demilitarization and terms concerning navigation rights through Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba were negotiated with Egypt directly. He also said: "We shall settle the Heights of Golan and the empty areas around Jerusalem, and all the *empty* places in the West Bank, east, north, and south, without a single Arab being moved. And the Arabs will have full rights. If we are to secure viable borders, this must be done." There is basic agreement in Israel over the need for direct negotiations, and a clear view on the Israeli left as to what those negotiations should achieve.

IN 1965, THE ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY split over the nature of the defense of the Israeli state. The resultant new Communist Party is primarily Arab-based and is more pro-Nasser.

Speaking authoritatively for the original Israeli Communist Party, Moshe Sneh told me that Soviet policy in the Middle East has nothing in common with socialist principles and was not even intelligent *realpolitik*. He pointed out that not only the Israeli Communist Party, but the Roumanian, Dutch and Swedish Parties had the same view, and had refused to attend the celebrations in Moscow of the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, and that the Italian and French Parties were torn by dissension over the issue as well. Cuba continues to maintain correct diplomatic relations with Israel, despite Soviet pressures and the Communist editorials against Israel in *Granma*.

"The June war," Sneh said unequivocally, "was a war of national defense. And we are opposed to the Soviet slogan of unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories now under its control as a result of that war. For that would mean a return to the conditions which led to that war. We are also opposed to annexation. There must be direct negotiations, not merely about territorial matters, but about general terms of peace. Only in the framework of such an agreement can the frontiers be defined. At the Khartoum Summit, the Arab regimes again stated they would not recognize Israel's right to exist—and this after the war! Thus, withdrawal would mean renewal of the war."

This is virtually the same position held by the government of Israel, though it has played its cards even closer to its chest, waiting for the Arabs to agree to sit down to talk about the terms of a general peace treaty in the area. Sneh says that Israel should reiterate publicly and forcefully its position that it had no territorial ambitions before the war, has none now, and is willing to negotiate the status of the territories it has occupied since the June war. He wants Jerusalem's status freely negotiated, but believes the city should be united under the sovereignty of Israel with one municipal authority and local autonomy for the Arab sector.

"We want self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and in Gaza," Sneh told me. "Let there be elections under international supervision. Let those former officials of the Jordanian regime who remained on the West Bank, like El Jabri, mayor of Hebron, or Nuseibeh, former minister of Defense in the Jordanian cabinet, and others hold elections and establish a government that can then negotiate with Israel as the representatives of the Palestinian Arabs, including those in Gaza. The worst that could happen is that they would want to return the land to Jordan. But then they would negotiate with Hussein, not us. To the other countries, we propose that as part of a general peace treaty there be a return to the old frontiers. Free passage for Egypt from El Qantara to Beirut and Damascus might be traded with them for our guaranteed passage through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal, or they might have a land route through the Negev to Jordan and Iraq. But they negotiate with us."

The left socialist Zionists represented by Mapam go further. They not only believe that Israel should make unequivocally clear its willingness to rescind control of most of the occupied territories as part of a peace treaty, but that Israel is ready to return the West Bank to Jordan—once a peace treaty mutually satisfactory to both sides is concluded between them. They agree that the correct principled position must be direct negotiations between the parties concerned; they also agree that to assure the Arabs that they are not merely going to end up negotiating the terms of their own surrender, it is imperative that the Israeli government declare its willingness to return the West Bank to Jordan if peace is secured. However, they do not believe that sovereignty over old Jerusalem, nor of its environs, can be rescinded again—not only for security reasons, but for reasons of Jerusalem's historical connection with Jewish national identity.

The simple fact is, as Yaakov Chazan put it in our interview, that "the Arabs now confront a new reality and must face it."

Nathan Yalin-Mor, who had tried in the past to establish contacts between Israelis and the Algerian FLN, says that if Israel does not try to establish an autonomous republic of Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank, federated with Israel into a Federation of Palestine (Eretz Israel), she will be forced to withdraw by the big powers. He believes that many Israelis, including government officials, are moving toward this view, and that there are also Arabs on the West Bank who, within a year or so, may come around to it. Some are already intimating this publicly. "This is," he says, "the first time Arabs and Jews face each other directly. There are no Turks between them. There are no French between them. There are no British between them. This land belongs to two nations, both with roots in and strong attachments to it. Jerusalem is the mother of two children between whom there has been a tragic clash."

Unfortunately, there is not yet one important voice in the Arab world, either private or public, which has been willing to even talk to the Israelis about the possibility of negotiations. Chazan and Victor Shemtov, another Mapam Knesset member I met, and others I spoke to on or off the record—among them men who have focused their entire lives on the achievement of Arab-Israeli friendship, men who have been the most formidable critics of the second-class status of Arabs within and of the dealings with refugees without, men who throughout their lives have been critics of the foreign policy of Israel—want their government to make a declaration that it is indeed willing to talk about the status of the West Bank. In view of the difficult stand they were willing to take, I asked them what secret contacts they had had with Arabs of the left, or independent nationalists; what had they been able to discover were the sentiments of their counterparts in Jordan, on the West Bank, in Egypt, in Algeria? The Israelis answered that they had been unable to make real contact with the Arabs; they said that they were unable to sit down and talk with an Arab leader, even secretly. So what is Israel to do? If the government of Israel begins to try to rehabilitate the Arab refugees on the West Bank, as is suggested by some, would she not be faced with the claim that she was taking such measures to create a *fait accompli,* to incorporate the occupied territories into her polity and economy—that she was intransigent, obdurate, annexationist?

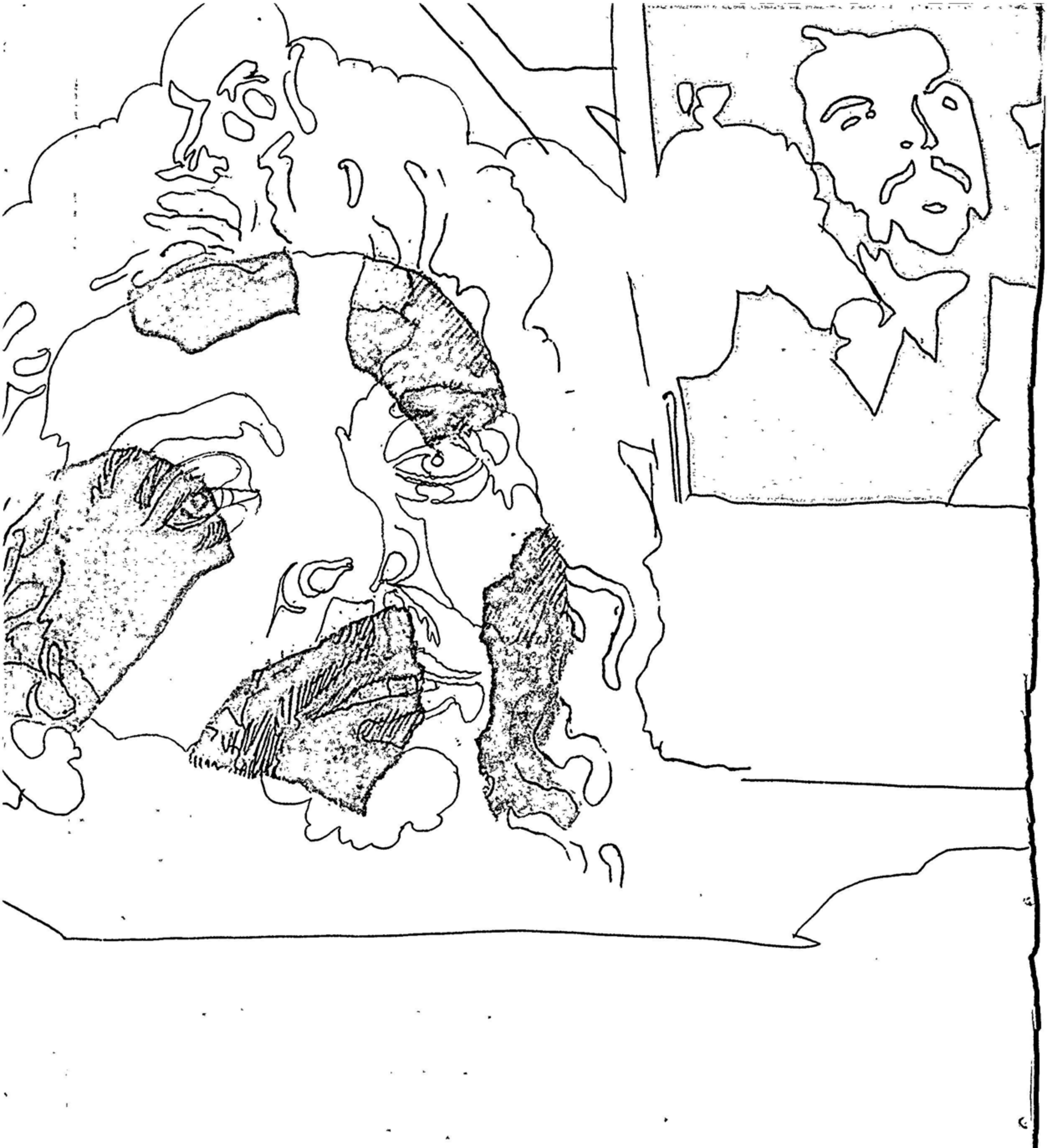
ON THE VERY EVE OF THE WAR, debate was still fierce on the question of how Israel should respond to the Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba and the new Arab military alliance. Now that Israel has survived, barring any unforeseen change in the policies of the Arab regimes or of the Soviet Union, it is unlikely that the Israelis will view their alternatives as anything but military ones. At least so far as foreign policy is concerned, it seems inevitable that there will be a deadening of political debate and a dampening of political opposition. Moreover, if the needs of military security could serve as a rationale for domestic policies in the past which many considered unjust and irrational, such policies will now appear to have even greater credence and will be more easily accepted.

If this turns out to be the case, it will be tragic. For the critique of Israel made by the left socialist Zionists was not wrong. It argued that within the limits of ensuring a nation's security, the search for alternatives, even dangerous ones, had to go on; that Palestine was the home of two nations, and that the Arabs and the Jews had legitimate national aspirations that need not and should not conflict with each other. The differences between Arabs and Jews had been exploited by the British in order to divide them, just as those differences are still exploited by the great powers to further their own interests.

These views were correct. Many Israelis on the left believe that there were critical points in the past when Israel's "hard" line of an "activist defense policy" hardened the intransigence of the Arabs in turn. Whether or not this was true in the past is less important than whether it shall be true in the future. Neither Israel's internal development nor her security can be tied to the policy, which now seems to be gaining the upper hand in Israel, of relying merely on a "position of strength" to deal with her Arab neighbors. Israel cannot indefinitely maintain military superiority in the area, nor can she rely on the United States. The latter has prevailing interests which are opposed to genuine national liberation in the Middle East. Israel's long-run survival is endangered in proportion to her dependence on the U.S. With all the frustrations faced by her people in the past, and despite the Soviet Union's immediate responsibility for an adventurist policy which had to lead to war, Israel's search for alternatives must continue. That search will not continue, however, if we hear only silence from those who maintain that Arab-Jewish friendship is not only possible but indispensible to Israel. It is more urgent than ever for those who have a vision of the Jewish state as an integral part of a developing Middle East of independent Arab states to find a way to realize their "impossible" dream, even as the dream of a Jewish state was realized.

Maurice Zeitlin teaches sociology at the University of Wisconsin and is co-editor, with James Petras, of the forthcoming Latin America: Reform or Revolution. *He recently returned from a two-week* RAMPARTS *assignment in Israel.*

RED! RED! RED!



Memoirs of the Revolutionary War by Che Guevara

After the great campaign in the Sierra Maestra of Cuba, Ernesto Che Guevara rewrote his rough diary notes into an unofficial and fragmentary history, Pasajes de la Guerra Revolucionaria. *The following are excerpts from that history, published for the first time in an American magazine.*

Alegría del Pío

ALEGRÍA DEL PÍO is a place in Oriente province, municipality of Niquero, near Cabo Cruz. At this very spot, on December 5, 1956, Batista's forces discovered our hiding place.

We were exhausted from a long, painful trek; more painful than long, to tell the truth. We had landed on December 2, at a place known as the Playa de las Coloradas. We had lost all our equipment, and had trudged for endless hours through marshlands and swamps. We were all wearing new boots and by now everyone was suffering from blisters and footsores, but new footwear and fungus were by no means our only enemies. We had reached Cuba following a seven-day voyage across the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, without food, plagued by seasickness and aboard a far-from-seaworthy vessel. All this had left an indelible mark upon our troop, made up of rookies who did not know what the word "combat" meant.

All that was left of our war equipment was our rifles, cartridge belts and a few wet rounds of ammunition. Our medical supplies had disappeared and most of our knapsacks had been left behind in the swamps. We had managed to mitigate our hunger and thirst by eating sugar cane, but due to our lack of experience we had left a trail of cane peelings and bagasse all over the place. Not that the guards looking for us needed any trail to follow our steps, for it had been our guide—as we found out later—who had betrayed us. We had let him go the night before—an error we were to repeat several times during our long struggle until we learned that civilians whose personal records were unknown to us were not to be trusted while in dangerous areas. It was a serious blunder to release that man.

By daybreak of the 5th we could barely walk. On the verge of collapse, we would walk a short distance and then beg for a long rest period. Orders were given to halt at the edge of a canefield, in a thicket close to the dense woods. Most of us slept throughout the morning hours.

At noon we began to notice unusual signs of activity. Air Force "Piper" planes as well as other types of small planes, together with small private aircraft, began to circle our hiding place. Most of our men went on cutting and eating sugar cane without realizing that they were perfectly visible to those flying the planes, which were now circling at slow speed. I was the troop physician and it was my duty to treat the blistered feet. I recall my last patient that morning: his name was Humberto Lamotte and that was to be his last day on earth. I still remember how tired and worn out he looked as he walked from my improvised first aid station to his post, still carrying his shoes in one hand.

Comrade Montané and I were leaning against a tree, eating our meager rations—half a sausage and two crackers—when a rifle shot broke the stillness. Immediately, a hail of bullets—at least this is the way it looked to us, this being our baptism of fire—descended upon our 82-man troop. My rifle was not one of the best; I had deliberately asked for it because I was in very poor physical condition due to an attack of asthma that had bothered me throughout our ocean voyage and I did not want to be held responsible for the loss of a good weapon.

I can hardly remember what followed the initial burst of gunfire. Almeida ran back to take charge of his group. A com-

Illustration by Milton Glaser

rade dropped a box of ammunition at my feet and when I reprimanded him for his action he looked at me with an expression of anguish and muttered something like "this is no time to bother with ammunition boxes." He continued on his way toward the canefield and disappeared from view.

Perhaps this was the first time I was faced with the dilemma of choosing between my devotion to medicine and my duty as a revolutionary soldier. There, at my feet, were a knapsack full of medicine and a box of ammunition. I couldn't possibly carry both of them; they were too heavy. I picked up the box of ammunition, leaving the medicine, and started to cross the clearing, heading for the canefield. I remember Faustino Pérez, kneeling and firing his machine-gun pistol. Near me, a comrade named Arbentosa was walking toward the canefield. A burst of gunfire hit us both. I felt a sharp blow on my chest and a wound on my neck, and I thought for certain I was dead. Arbentosa, vomiting blood and bleeding profusely from a deep hole made by a 45-caliber bullet, yelled: "They have killed me!" and began to fire his rifle at no one in particular. Flat on the ground, I turned to Faustino, saying: "I've been hit!"—what I really said is unprintable—and Faustino, still firing away, looked at me and said: "Oh, it's nothing," but I could see by the look in his eyes that he considered me as good as dead.

Still on the ground, I fired a shot in the direction of the woods, following an impulse similar to that of the other wounded man. Immediately, I began to figure out the best way to die. I recalled a Jack London story where the hero, aware that he is bound to freeze to death in the wastes of Alaska, leans calmly against a tree and prepares to die in a dignified manner. That was the only thing that came to my mind at that moment. Someone on his knees said that we had better surrender and I heard a voice—later I found out it was Camilo's—shouting: "No, nobody surrenders here!" followed by a four-letter word. Ponce came at a run, breathing hard, and showed me a bullet wound (I was sure the bullet must have pierced his lungs), and said "I'm wounded," and I replied coolly "me, too." Then Ponce, and other comrades who were still unhurt, crawled toward the canefield. For a moment I was left alone, just lying there waiting to die. Almeida approached, urging me to go on, and despite the intense pain, I dragged myself into the canefield. There I met comrade Raúl Suárez, whose thumb had been blown away by a rifle bullet, being attended by Faustino Pérez who was bandaging his hand. Then everything became a blur of airplanes flying low and strafing the field, adding to the confusion, amid Dantesque as well as grotesque scenes, such as the sight of a comrade of considerable *avoirdupois* who was desperately trying to hide behind a single stalk of sugar cane, while in the middle of this turmoil another man kept on yelling: "Silence!" for no apparent reason.

With Almeida leading, we crossed the last path among the rows of cane and reached the safety of the woods. The first shouts of "fire!" were heard in the canefield and tongues of flame and columns of smoke began to rise. I cannot remember exactly what happened; I felt the bitterness of defeat and I was sure I was going to die. We walked until the darkness made it impossible to go on, and decided to lie down and go to sleep all huddled together in a heap. We were starving and thirsty and the mosquitoes added to our misery. This was our baptism of fire on December 5, 1956, on the outskirts of Niquero. It was the beginning of what would later become the Rebel Army.

Battle of La Plata

OUR FIRST VICTORY was the result of an attack upon a small Army garrison at the mouth of La Plata River. The effect of our victory was electrifying. It was like a clarion call, proving that the Rebel Army really existed and was ready to fight.

On January 14, 1957, shortly after the surprise attack of Alegría del Pío, we came to a halt by the Magdalena River. A piece of firm land originating at the Sierra juts out between the Magdalena and La Plata. Fidel gave orders for target practice as an initial attempt at some sort of training for our troop. Some of the men were using a weapon for the first time. At that time we had 23 weapons in operating condition.

That afternoon we climbed the last hill before reaching the outskirts of La Plata. We were following a trail marked especially for us by a peasant named Melquiades Elías. This man had been recommended by our guide Eutimio. Our guide was essential to us and he seemed to be the prototype of the rebel farmer, but later he was apprehended by Casillas (a Batista officer) who, instead of killing him, bribed him with an offer of $10,000 and the rank of lieutenant if he managed to kill Fidel. Eutimio came close to fulfilling his bargain but he lacked the courage to do so.

At dawn of the 16th we began watching the Army post, but no soldiers could be seen anywhere. At three p.m. we decided to approach the road leading to the barracks and take a look; by nightfall we crossed the shallow La Plata River and took our positions on the road. Five minutes later we took two farmers into custody. One of them had a record as an informer. When we told them who we were and reassured them that no harm would befall them, they gave us some valuable information.

We had 22 weapons ready for the attack. It was a crucial moment because we were short of ammunition. The Army post had to be taken, for a failure would have meant spending all our ammunition, leaving us practically defenseless.

The attack began at 2:40 a.m. and the guards put up a much stiffer resistance than we had expected. A sergeant, armed with an M-1, opened up with a burst every time we asked them to surrender. We were given orders to use our old, Brazilian-type hand grenades. Luís Crespo and I threw ours but they did not go off; Raúl Castro threw a stick of dynamite with the same negative result. It became necessary to get close to the houses and set them on fire even at the risk of our own lives. Finally, Luís Crespo and I got close to one of the ranches and set it on fire. The glare gave us an opportunity to see that it was a place for storing coconuts, but the over-all effect intimidated the soldiers and they gave up the fight.

Camilo Cienfuegos was first into the house, where shouts of surrender were being heard. Quickly, we took stock of our booty: eight Springfields, one Thompson machine gun and about 1000 rounds; we had fired approximately 500 rounds. In addition, we now had cartridge belts, fuel, knives, clothing and some food. Casualties: two soldiers dead, five wounded. We took three prisoners.

Our men had not suffered a single scratch. We set fire to the soldiers' quarters and after taking care of the wounded—three of them were seriously wounded and we were told later that they had died—we withdrew. One of the soldiers later joined the forces under Raúl Castro's command, was promoted to lieutenant, and died in an airplane accident following the war.

Illustration by Seymour Chwast

Our attitude toward the wounded was in open contrast to that of the tyranny's Army. Not only did they kill our wounded men; they abandoned their own. This difference made a great impact upon the enemy and it was instrumental in our victory. Fidel gave orders that the prisoners be given all the medicines to take care of the wounded. I was appalled at this decision because, as a physician, I felt the need of saving all available medicine and drugs for our own men. We freed all civilians and at 4:30 of the 17th, we started for Palma Mocha, arriving there at dawn and continuing on in the most inaccessible zones of the Sierra Maestra. This was the victorious battle of the Rebel Armies. It was only in this battle and the one following that we had more weapons than men. Peasants were not yet ready to join in the struggle, and communication with the city bases was practically nonexistent.

Bitter Days

THE DAYS FOLLOWING our departure from Epifanio's farm were, at least for me, the most painful of the war.

On February 22, I wrote in my diary that I was beginning to feel the symptoms of an attack of asthma; I did not have any anti-asthmatic medicine left. The date for the rendezvous with Frank País' men, who were to bring additional weapons, was set for March 5, so we still had to wait several days. My asthma was so bad I could hardly walk, and we spent another night near a house, among a thicket of coffee trees.

About four p.m. on February 28th, Universo Sánchez and Luís Crespo were watching the road, and saw a large troop coming from the direction of Las Vegas. We had to move fast to reach the hillside and cross to the other side before the troops cut us off. It was not difficult because we had seen them in time. Mortar and machine-gun fire broke out, headed in our direction, which proved that Batista's men knew that we were somewhere in the vicinity. Everybody made it to the top, but for me it was a terrible experience. I was practically choking by the time I reached the top of the hill. I remember Crespo's efforts to make me walk. Every time I said I could not go on and asked to be left behind, Crespo would revert to our jargon and snap at me: "You, son-of-a-bitch from Argentina, either you walk or I'll hit you with my rifle butt!" Then he would pick up his load, and practically carry me and my heavy knapsack to the top. All this under a heavy downpour.

We reached a small hut at a place called Purgatorio. Fidel put on a great performance, impersonating a "Major González" of Batista's Army, in search of rebels. The host was both courteous and cool, but another man, a neighbor, was a real toady. I was too ill to enjoy fully the dialogues between Fidel, in his role as Major González, and the man, who insisted on giving advice to Fidel and kept saying that he could not understand why this boy Castro was out there in the woods, fighting.

Something had to be done about me; I simply could not go on any longer. When the chatty neighbor left, Fidel told the host who he really was and the man threw his arms around him, saying that he belonged to the Orthodox Party, that he was a follower of Chibás, and that he was ready to help out in every way. It was necessary for the peasant to go to Manzanillo and establish some contact or, at least, buy some medicine. Even the man's wife was not supposed to know that I would be near the house. Our latest recruit, a man of doubtful reputation, was assigned as my guard. In a generous gesture, Fidel gave me a Johnson rifle, a real jewel. Then we all made a big show of leaving together, and a few yards away my companion—whom we called "the teacher"—and I went into the woods to hide and wait.

Our man fulfilled his mission and I got my adrenalin. The next ten days were the most bitter of the struggle in the Sierra: I was dragging myself from tree to tree, using my rifle as a crutch, accompanied by a thoroughly frightened man who went practically out of his mind every time I coughed—he was so afraid someone would hear me—but we finally made it back to Epifanio's house. It had taken us ten days to cover a distance easily covered in one day's march.

Reinforcement

OUR REINFORCEMENTS were scheduled to arrive on the 15th of March. We waited for hours but no one came. They arrived the following day, exhausted, saying that unexpected events had delayed their departure. They came in trucks owned by a rice planter who later became so frightened about being implicated in the affair that he took refuge in an Embassy, later departed for Costa Rica, and returned to Cuba as a hero aboard a plane carrying some arms. His name: Hubert Matos.

Only 30 of the 50-man troop were armed; they had two machine-gun rifles, a Madzen and a Johnson. The few months spent in the Sierra had turned us into full-fledged veterans, and the new troop looked to us as full of defects as our original *Granma* troop: no discipline, lack of decision and inability to adapt to the new surroundings. The group, led by Jorge Sotús, was divided into five squads, each composed of ten men led by a lieutenant. This rank had been conferred by the organization in the city, pending ratification.

The contrast between the two groups was tremendous. Ours was well-disciplined, compact and hardened. Theirs was suffering from the usual ills: they were not accustomed to eating only one meal a day; if they found the meal unpalatable, they refused to eat. Their knapsacks were loaded with useless items, and in order to make them lighter, they would rather get rid of a can of condensed milk than a towel—this is practically high treason in guerrilla warfare!—so we made it a point to follow their trail and pick up any food they discarded. Once we settled in our camp there was a tense period brought about by constant friction between Sotús—who was quite an authoritarian but lacked the gift of getting along with others—and the troop.

Fidel arrived on the night of March 24. He and his 12 stalwart comrades were an impressive sight. What a contrast between these men, with their long beards and their makeshift packs, and the new arrivals wearing clean uniforms, carrying well-made packs, and all clean shaven! I made a full report of our problems and we held council to decide on future action.

The new arrivals added to our troop's efficiency. In addition, we had two machine-gun rifles, even though they were old and badly worn. Nevertheless we now constituted a considerable force. We held a short, elementary guerrilla training practice, and departed due east. Our plan was to cover long distances, looking for some group of soldiers to pounce upon.

Illustration by James McMullin

Forging the Temper

The months of March and April 1957 were devoted to the reorganization and training of the rebel troops. We learned to cook by squads. Our group was by now so large that the squad system allowed for a better distribution of food, medicine and ammunition. There was a veteran in most squads, teaching the new men the art of cooking and how to get the best nourishment out of our foodstuffs. They also trained the men in packing their knapsacks and the correct way of walking through the Sierras. It would take an automobile only a few hours to cover the distance between the right hill of El Lomón and Uvero. To us, it meant weeks of slow walking, taking every precaution, carrying out our program of training the men for the coming battles as well as for a new life.

I must mention here that at last I was to get a canvas hammock. This was a royal gift, which I had not yet been awarded, in keeping with the guerrilla law: a canvas hammock went to those who had already made their own out of burlap sacks. Anyone could make himself a burlap hammock; this made him a candidate for the next canvas hammock; but the lint made my asthma worse, and I was forced to sleep on the ground. Not having a burlap hammock, I was not entitled to a canvas hammock. A real vicious circle: one of the daily events that were a part of each man's individual tragedy.

Fidel realized my plight and broke all the rules, awarding me the precious hammock. I will always remember that this happened by the banks of La Plata River, the day we ate horse meat for the first time.

The horse meat was not only a luxurious *pièce de résistance;* it was the acid test of the capacity of adaptation. Peasant members of our guerrilla force became quite indignant and refused to eat their portion of horse meat. Some of them looked upon Manuel Fajardo as a murderer. He had worked in a slaughterhouse, and a great event such as the slaughtering of a horse called for the hand of a professional.

The horse belonged to a peasant named Popa, who lived across the river. I feel confident that following the anti-illiteracy campaign, Popa must be able to read and write by now. If he ever lays his hands on the magazine Verde Olivo—where these notes were originally published—he will undoubtedly recall the night when three murderous-looking guerrilla fighters knocked at his door, mistook him for an informer, and added insult to injury by taking his old, moth-eaten horse, which a few hours later was to become a meal of exquisite taste for some of us and a test for the prejudiced bellies of the peasants, who felt that they were committing an act of cannibalism by chewing on their old friend.

The Arms Arrive

One day, a contact man from Santiago named Andrés arrived with the welcome news that arms would be delivered within a few days. A sawmill on the coast was set for the rendezvous.

The night the arms came, we saw the most beautiful sight in the world. There they were, the instruments of death, on exhibit before the hungry eyes of every fighter: three machine guns with their tripods, three Madzen machine-gun rifles, nine M-1 carbines, ten Johnson automatic rifles, and 6000 rounds of ammunition. The M-1's were allotted 45 rounds apiece, and they were distributed according to each man's merits and time spent in the Sierra. One of them went to Ramiro Valdés, now a major, and two others were given to Camilo's advance guard. The other four were to cover the tripod machine guns. One machine-gun rifle went to Captain Jorge Sotús' platoon, one to Almeida's and another to the staff; that was my weapon. Such was my initiation as a direct combatant. I had participated in combat but my steady position was that of physician. For me, it was the beginning of a new stage.

A man named David, a foreman for one of the landowners, was very helpful. He slaughtered a cow for us, near the coast, and we had to go and bring in the pieces. This had to be done at night and I sent a group of men led by Israel Pardo, and a second group led by Banderas. Banderas was quite undisciplined and he made the men carry the entire load. It took them all night to bring the meat. A small troop was being organized, which I was to lead since Almeida was hurt. Aware of my responsibility, I told Banderas he was no longer a combatant; that unless he improved his behavior, he was to remain as a sympathizer. He did improve, although he was no model of discipline, but he was an alert man, of great ingenuity, and he had come face to face with reality through the medium of the Revolution. He had been working a small parcel of land wrested from the woods, and lived in a small hut with two small pigs and a dog. One day he showed me his sons' photograph; they lived with his ex-wife in Santiago. Banderas said he hoped that once the Revolution had succeeded, he could go somewhere to work a piece of good land, not this inhospitable scrap of land practically hanging from the Sierra. The man had a passion for agriculture.

I told him about the cooperative, but he was unable to understand. He wanted to work the land by himself and for himself. Gradually, he began to understand the advantage of collective work, the use of farm machinery, etc. Banderas would have been a vanguard fighter in agricultural production. At the Sierra, he improved his reading and writing and he was really preparing for the future. He was a wide-awake peasant who knew the value of self-sacrifice when it comes to writing a new page in history.

I held a long interview with David, the foreman. He was on his way to Santiago and he wanted a list of the things we were in need of, so that he could get them for us. He was the typical foreman, faithful to his boss, with a great scorn for peasants, and a racist to boot. However, when the Army arrested him and tortured him, his main concern when he saw us again was to explain that he had refused to talk. I do not know if David is still in Cuba; perhaps he followed his bosses, whose possessions have already been confiscated by the Revolution. I must say he was a man who, at that moment, felt the need of a change; he felt that a change was forthcoming, although he never imagined the change might reach him and his world. The structure of the Revolution is based upon many sincere efforts made by humble men; our mission is to bring out the best in everyone and turn everyone into a revolutionary. The Revolution is made up of Davids who did not understand too well, of Banderas who did not live to see the dawn, of blind sacrifices, of unrewarded sacrifices.

We who are able to witness the Revolution's accomplish-

Illustration by Tim Lewis

ments must remember those who fell by the roadside, and do our utmost to decrease the number of laggards.

Treason in the Making

IT WAS A PLEASURE to look at our troop. Close to 200 men, well-disciplined, with increased morale, and armed with good weapons, some of them new. The qualitative change I mentioned before was now quite evident in the Sierra. There was a true free territory; safety measures were not so necessary, and there was a little freedom to carry on conversations at night while resting in our hammocks. We were allowed to visit the nearby villages and establish closer ties with the peasants. We were moved by the hearty welcome given by our comrades.

Felipe Pazos and Raúl Chibás were the "prima donnas" of the moment, although they were complete opposites. Raúl Chibás lived under the shadow of his brother's reputation—for Eddie Chibás was the symbol of an era—but he had none of his brother's virtues. He was neither expressive nor intelligent. Only his absolute mediocrity allowed him to be the principal figure of the Orthodox Party. He spoke very little and he wanted to leave the Sierra at once.

We did not have much time to talk, but Fidel told me about his efforts to turn out a really militant document that would set the basis for a declaration of principles. This was a difficult task when faced by these two "stone age" brains immune to the call of the people's struggle.

Fundamentally, the manifesto reiterated "the establishment of a great civic revolutionary front comprising all opposition parties, all civic institutions and all revolutionary forces."

Several proposals were submitted: "the establishment of a civic revolutionary front in a common front of struggle"; the appointment of "a figure designated to preside over the provisional government"; the statement that the front did neither request nor accept intervention by any other country in the internal affairs of Cuba; it "did not accept any military junta as a provisional government of the Republic"; the determination to separate the Army from politics and insure the safety of the armed forces against political intrigue and influence; elections to be held within one year's time.

The program to be observed by the provisional government included the freedom of all political prisoners, civilian and military; absolute guarantee of freedom of the press and radio, and all rights, individual or political, to be guaranteed by the Constitution; appointment of interim mayors in all municipalities, following consultation with the district's civic institutions; suppression of embezzlement in all forms, and establishment of measures aimed at increasing efficiency of all state organizations; establishment of the administrative career; democratization of trade union politics, promoting free elections in all trade unions and industrial workers' federations; beginning of an intense anti-illiteracy campaign and public education on civic affairs, pointing out the citizens' rights and duties to society and the country; "to establish the bases for an Agrarian Reform aimed at distribution of untilled lands, giving ownership to all sharecroppers, tenants and squatters having small lots of land, either private or state-owned, provided the farmer owners are compensated"; establishment of a foreign policy safeguarding our currency's stability and aimed at investing the country's credit in productive works; to expedite the process of industrialization and create additional employment opportunities.

In addition, there were two points of special emphasis: "First: the need to appoint, from this moment, the person who will preside over the Provisional Government of the Republic, to prove to the entire world that Cubans can become united under a slogan of freedom; to support the person who, for his impartiality, capabilities and honesty, can personify such a slogan. There are many able men in Cuba who can preside over the Republic." Felipe Pazos, one of the co-signers, felt quite confident that there was only one man for the presidency: himself.

"Second: that this person be appointed by an ensemble of civic non-political institutions, whose support would safeguard the President from any political commitments, thus insuring clean, impartial elections."

The document also stated: "It is not necessary to come to the Sierra for any discussions. We can have representatives in Havana, Mexico or wherever it becomes necessary."

Fidel had pressed for more explicit statements regarding the Agrarian Reform, but it was very difficult to crash through the wall of the two "stone age" characters; "to establish the bases for an Agrarian Reform aimed at the distribution of untilled lands," was the kind of policy that the newspaper Diario de la Marina might agree with. Worse, there was the part reading: "provided the farmer owners are compensated."

The Revolution did not comply with some of the commitments, as originally stated. We must emphasize that the enemy broke the pact expressed in the manifesto when they refused to acknowledge the authority of the Sierra and made an attempt to shackle the future revolutionary government.

We were not satisfied with the commitment, but it was necessary; at the time, it was progressive. It could never last beyond any moment that would represent an obstacle for the development of the revolutionary movement. In this matter, the enemy helped us break the uncomfortable bonds and gave us the opportunity to show the people what their real intentions were.

We were aware that this was a minimal program, limiting our own efforts, but we had to recognize that it was impossible to impose our will from the Sierra Maestra; for a long period of time, we would have to depend upon a whole series of "friends" who were trying to use our military strength and the people's great trust in Fidel for Machiavellian maneuvers, and above all, to maintain imperialist domination of Cuba through the importing bourgeoisie, closely linked with the U.S. owners.

The manifesto had its positive sides: it mentioned the Sierra Maestra and it clearly stated: "Let no one be deceived by Government propaganda about the situation in the Sierra Maestra. The Sierra Maestra is an indestructible bulwark of freedom. It is part of the hearts of our people and it is here that we will know how to do justice to the faith and the confidence of our people." The words "we will know how" meant that Fidel and only Fidel knew how. The other two were incapable of following the development of the struggle in the Sierra, even as spectators. They left the Sierra immediately. Chibás was arrested and beaten by the police. Both men managed to get to the United States.

It was a well-planned coup: a group of representatives of the most distinguished Cuban oligarchy arrived at the Sierra "in defense of freedom," signed a joint declaration with the guerrilla chief isolated in the wilds of the Sierra, and returned with full freedom to play their trump card in Miami. But they overlooked one most important point. Political coups always depend on the opponents' strength—in this case, the weapons in the hands of the people. Quick action by our chief, who had full confidence in the guerrilla Army, averted the development of the treacherous move. Months later, when the outcome of the Miami pact became known, Fidel's fiery reply paralyzed the enemy. We were accused of being "divisionists" trying to impose our will from the remote regions of the Sierra, but the enemy had to change its strategy and look for a new trap: the Caracas pact.

Our manifesto, dated July 12, 1957, was published in the newspapers. To us, the declaration was simply a short rest period on our march forward. Our main task—to defeat the enemy Army in the battlefield—must go on.

"El Patojo"

A FEW DAYS AGO, the news from Guatemala included the deaths of several patriots, among them Julio Roberto Cáceres Valle.

In our profession as revolutionaries amidst the class struggle shaking the entire continent, we find that death is a frequent accident. But the death of a friend, who was our comrade during difficult moments as well as during many moments of hopeful dreaming, is always painful. Julio Roberto was a great friend. He was small and rather weak, physieally, so we nicknamed him "El Patojo," which in Guatemalan slang means "little one" or "child."

The first time I saw El Patojo was aboard a train. We were running away from Guatemala following Arbenz' overthrow. Our destination was Tapachula; then Mexico City. He was much younger than I, but we soon became close friends. Together, we made the trip from Chiapas to Mexico City, facing the same problems. We were poor and beaten, and we had to make a living amidst indifferent, if not hostile, surroundings.

El Patojo was completely broke and I had only a few pesos. I purchased a camera and we became clandestine photographers, taking pictures of people visiting parks, etc. Our partner was a Mexican who owned the laboratory where we developed and printed our photographs. We became thoroughly familiar with Mexico City, walking from one end to the other, delivering our miserable photos and struggling with our customers in an effort to convince them that the little child in the print really looked beautiful and that the price of one Mexican peso for such a work of art was a tremendous bargain. We practiced our profession for several months and managed to eat quite regularly. Gradually, we fared a little better, until the adventures of a revolutionary life separated us.

In Cuba, El Patojo and I shared the same house, as becomes old friends, but the old mutual confidence no longer existed. On a few occasions, I suspected what El Patojo was after: I had seen him hard at work, studying one of his country's native languages. One day, he came to me and said he was leaving; that the time had come for him to do his duty.

El Patojo had no knowledge of military training. He simply felt that it was his duty to return to his country and fight, weapon in hand, in an attempt to imitate our guerrilla warfare. We had a long conversation, a rare thing at the time. I limited my recommendations to three points: constant mobility, constant mistrust and constant vigilance. Mobility: never stay in the same place, never stay more than two nights in the same spot, never stop moving from one place to another. Mistrust: at the beginning, do not trust your own shadow, never trust friendly peasants, informers, guides or contact men. Do not trust anything or anybody until a zone is completely liberated. Vigilance: constant guard and scouting, setting up camp in a safe spot, and above all, never sleep with a roof over your head, never sleep in a house that can be surrounded. It was a synthesis of our guerrilla experience; the only thing I could give my friend. Could I tell him not to do it? By what right? We had tried something when it was considered impossible, and now he was convinced that it was possible.

El Patojo departed, and a short time later we heard about his death. As always in these cases, we hoped that there had been some mistake, perhaps a mix-up on names. Unfortunately, it was true: his own mother had identified the body. Others, too, had been killed: a group of his comrades, perhaps as intelligent and as self-sacrificing as El Patojo, but unknown to us.

Once again, young blood had been spilled on American soil, in the struggle for liberty. Another battle had been lost. Let us take time off to cry over the fallen comrades while we continue to sharpen our machetes. Based on the unfortunate as well as valuable experience of our beloved dead, let us adopt the firm resolution not to repeat mistakes, and to avenge the death of every one of them by winning battles and attaining liberation.

At the time of his departure, El Pajoto made no recommendations; he mentioned no one. He had no personal belongings to be concerned with. However, common friends in Mexico brought me some verses he had written in a plain notebook. They are a revolutionary's last verses. They are also a song of love to the Revolution, to the motherland and to a woman.

The final recommendation in these verses must have the characteristics of a command directed to the woman whom El Patojo met and loved, here in Cuba.

Take it, it is only a heart
hold it in your hand
and at daybreak,
open your hand
and let the sun's rays warm it . . .

El Patojo's heart has remained with us, waiting for the lover's hand, and the loving hands of an entire people, to allow the sun to warm it on the dawn of a new day that will shine for Guatemala and all America. Today, there is a small School of Statistics named "Julio Roberto Cáceres Valle" at the Ministry of Industry, where El Patojo left numerous friends. Later, when freedom comes to Guatemala, his beloved name must appear on a school, a factory or a hospital, anywhere where people struggle and work in the construction of the new society.

These selections from his memoirs of revolutionary war are from a book of Che Guevara's works to be published by Macmillan in March 1968, edited by John Gerassi.

[THE NASSER THESIS: PART II]

Oil & The Arabs

THE REALITIES OF POWER sometimes have arbitrary gauges. It is interesting to note, for example, that the gross annual profit of Standard Oil of New Jersey, which has extensive holdings in the Middle East, are slightly greater than the entire gross national product of Israel.

Inflammatory discussions over whether "Arab madness" or "Israeli rigidity" is responsible for the recurrent Mideast wars presume that the politics of that area are completely in the hands of its own nation states. The underlying reality is generally ignored by Arab and Israeli partisans alike. The New York Times is much more to the point in its candid editorial, written on the eve of the six-day war: "In terms of American interests . . . the Middle East is to be differentiated from Southeast Asia. The Middle East is the crossroads of the world, between Asia and Europe. In its Great Power aspect, the Middle East crisis shapes up as a confrontation of the Soviet Union and the United States. As the British and French were gradually forced out of the area following World War II, the U.S. took their place. The region is now of paramount strategic importance to this country, whereas, until the escalation of the Vietnamese war, Southeast Asia was only a marginal power factor for the U.S. The Persian Gulf produces 27 per cent of the world's petroleum and has proved global reserves of 60 per cent. American firms have a gross investment in the region of more than $2.5 billion. There is nothing comparable in American interests that can be said of the Southeast Asia peninsula."

Oil is not the only lure drawing the West to the Middle East, although its magnetism could certainly be considered substantial. In geopolitical terms, the Mideast is a key to the emerging Third World: it is, through the Suez Canal, the trade crossroads between Asia and Europe. It is also an important cultural bridge between Africa and Asia—and the center of the Islam world.

These factors are unquestionably significant in the drive for control of the Mideast, but they do not offer the clear test of power of the more concrete prize of oil.

by Robert Scheer

[OIL—WHO NEEDS IT?]

THE AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES have expended great efforts on books and studies which try to prove that the oil business is somehow no longer terribly profitable. The fact is, however, that the oil companies' profit rates are among the highest of any industry in the world. The Wall Street Journal recently estimated that Saudi Arabia's American-owned Aramco (Arabian-American Oil Company) had the highest profit margin of any U.S. corporation in 1966: 37 per cent—as compared to the national industrial average of less than ten per cent. In 1966, the eight major Western oil companies* earned around $2.5 billion after taxes in their Mideastern operations—from the sales of crude oil alone. American companies hold slightly less than half interest in the oil concessions in the four major oil-producing states of the Mideast: Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran.

The American oil companies argue that the "50-50 profit sharing" scheme negotiated over the last 15 years with the Mideast countries is generous. Aramco's case, however, which is typical, shows that such generosity is painless. The 50 per cent of the profit that Aramco gives Saudi Arabia costs the company relatively little: through a complicated system of tax credits and allowances, about 96 per cent of what Aramco pays Saudi Arabia is offset by savings on its U.S. tax bill. Besides, the Arabs' 50 per cent is calculated on profits from the sale of crude oil only, and does not include the extensive profits from marketing and refining the oil.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the Mideast oil lake to the oil consumers of the world. Many areas presently rely heavily on Mideastern oil: for example, 65 per cent of Europe's oil is imported from Arab soil; Japan draws 60 per cent of its oil from the Mideast; and there is also the expanding Third World market. The Mideast now provides

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*British Petroleum Co., Royal Dutch Shell, Compagnie Française des Petrols, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, Texaco, Socony-Mobil and Gulf.

27 per cent of all the oil used in the world, but it contains over 60 per cent of the world's resources, and this figure is certain to increase in the future. Such statistics argue that the significance of this resource transcends the profits that are raked in. Oil is indispensible to industrial and military potential, and it is no wonder that continued control of this resource is a major focus of the Western powers.

If control of Mideast oil is important to the West, it is absolutely critical to the Arabs. Their oil is the only native resource which can bring in the hard cash needed to break out of the cycle of underdevelopment and poverty in which their countries are trapped. Compared to the potential revenues from the sale of Arab oil, U.S. attempts at economic aid are a joke. In 1964, the Western oil companies cleared $1.3 billion in profits from the sale of Arab crude oil: more in one year than the *total* amount of U.S. economic aid to all Arab countries since the Second World War ($0.9 billion).

Not only are huge profits taken out of the area, but the profits which remain go to the wrong places. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Libya and Iraq produce 90 per cent of the Arab world's oil—yet those countries contain only 12 per cent of the total Arab population. Economic progress for the bulk of the Arab population thus depends on integrating the oil-rich lands with the potential mass Arab work force.

Why do the American companies get so much money for selling other people's oil? One should not suppose that the profits are simply fair payment for the technical skill and advanced equipment they bring to the production of oil in the area. If the Arabs hired these skills and equipment on the open market, they could get them at a fraction of the cost they pay to the oil companies as perennial profits. After all, the total Western capital investment in the Mideast oil operations is $5 billion, which is roughly equivalent to two years of total revenue from the oil. In an open market, the Arabs should be able to buy out the Western investment in two years. As for technicians, if oil companies can hire them, there is no reason, in principle, why the Arabs should not be able to.

The problem is simply that there is no open market. The market is controlled by the same companies that produce the oil. The statistics are astonishing: the eight major Western companies operating in the Mideast not only produce 80 per cent of its crude oil, but also do 71 per cent of the refining and control 90 per cent of the marketing.

Thus, these companies are in a position to force the oil countries to do business with them—and on outrageous terms. The game is rigged. And the Western commitment to keep it that way is profound. This is not simply because of a hunger for profits on the part of the U.S., to whom the defense of these interests ultimately falls. The driving U.S. fear is not, for example, competition from other "Free World" powers. But the "Arabization" of oil, in the context of increasing Soviet influence, is considered a vital threat, since it holds out the possibility of removing control from the "Free World" sphere.

The West had no difficulty maintaining its control in the Mideast for the first decade after the Second World War, although the Soviet Union did briefly attempt, just after the war, to retain its occupation in Iran, the only large non-Arabic oil producer in the Middle East. But the balance of power at that time, and Stalin's preoccupation with Eastern Europe, forced a Russian departure. Nevertheless, it was Iran that first challenged the Western hegemony.

[IRAN: A CASE IN POINT]

ON MAY 1, 1951, IRANIAN PRIME MINISTER Mossadegh nationalized his country's oil production. The U.S. proceeded to crush him so totally that the example has served as a chilling model for other would-be nationalists—no major oil-producing country in the Mideast has dared to repeat Mossadegh's attempt. The major Western producers were able to impose, through their control of the refining and marketing end of the oil business, a total boycott of Iranian oil in the Western market. Iranian oil became, simply, worthless.

Mossadegh didn't have a chance. After two years of economic strangulation, the CIA—in one of its better-documented adventures—arranged a coup. The American oil companies benefitted handsomely. The new Iranian government graciously accepted a new four-company consortium, in which Americans held a 40 per cent interest, in place of the former exclusive British control. Over the next three years, the United States government reciprocated by pumping in $120 million in aid, which helped create an elaborate internal military apparatus. A then naive Hubert Humphrey exclaimed, "that Army isn't going to fight the Russians. It's planning to fight the Iranian people."

The finale to this awesome display of American efficiency was Iran's support of the Baghdad Pact. The New York Times editorialized that the addition of Iran "... puts the cork in the bottle, and permits concerted defense planning from the Mediterranean to the Bay of Bengal, in order to safeguard the independence of the whole area and protect its vast oil resources."

The connection, in the rationale of the pact, between the area's independence and the West's control of its prime resource, neatly tied America's crusade for freedom to the wellbeing of her companies abroad.

[THE NASSER THREAT]

THE BAGHDAD PACT was an integral part of a global containment policy which was put into effect by the United States in the early 1950s. This pact occasioned Nasser's first challenge to the West, since he refused to align himself formally with it. The resurgence of Arab nationalism identified with Nasser's rise to power in the mid-'50s was threatening to the West in two other ways. First, there was a good deal of talk about nationalization being necessary to Arab progress. The nationalization of the Suez Canal was alarming in itself, but more frightening in its implications. Most disturbing about Nasser was his clear ambition to spread his version of the Arab Revolution to the other countries—Nasser was consciously and arrogantly expansionist. Second, "Nasserism" shared with the rival Baathist movement, as well as with other less prominent Arab left movements, the position that the oil in the underpopulated and/or tiny oil-producing countries must be the basis of the development of the entire region. In its simplified form, the heresy held that Western exploitation of Kuwait's oil, for example, was exploitation of *Arab* oil.

The United States' response to this fledgling challenge was essentially cautious and manipulative. Principally, the U.S. relied on propping up the economy and military machines of the monarchies, while alternately mollifying through grants, or chastening by withholding grants, the more leftist tendencies as they appeared in Egypt and the other Arab regimes. Intensive CIA operations even involved funding the American Friends of the Middle East—a pro-Arab organization in the U.S.—as well as widespread meddling in internal Arab politics.

The Arab Revolutions in Egypt and occasionally Syria could be tolerated by the United States since, while quite effectual in many internal and external matters, they had not come close to revolutionizing or even seriously inconveniencing Western hegemony. Also, in 1955, the new factor of Soviet support made direct intervention a riskier enterprise, to be attempted only when vital interests were actually encroached upon. U.S. policymakers were also very concerned that the cost of any direct intervention might be an anti-Western Arab union which could topple America's right-wing Arab allies. Thus the Nasser-U.S. relationship has involved an implicit notion of limits. Nasser has always steered clear of any major direct confrontation with the U.S.; in return, the U.S. has never really attempted to clamp down on him as it did with Castro.

The Arab revolutionary impulse, thus restricted from its essential task of challenging the West for the control of Arab resources, instead found its outlet by challenging Israel as a Western tool. One could attack "Israeli imperialism" without threatening real imperialist interests and risking their responses. Moreover, hostility to Israel provided a kind of anti-imperialism that was able to appeal to both progressive leftists and traditional monarchies in the Arab world. Their unity could not be achieved in an attack on U.S. imperialism, since several of the regimes involved were its committed representatives. There could be unity against Israel because, even if the cause were expressed in other terms, the real basis was in questions of borders and race, historical grievances and especially the plight of the refugees. The unity was forceful because these grievances—if not central to the problem of social revolution—were to a significant degree genuine.

If Arab identification of Israel with Western imperialism confused and misdirected the Arab Revolution, various actions of the Israelis reinforced this confusion. In 1956, Israel did join with the British and French attempt to reestablish by force Western control over the Suez Canal, after Nasser, in an important and necessary step, nationalized it. And Israel did support the French in the Algerian War. The various arguments about and justifications for these episodes were discussed in detail in the first installment of this essay [RAMPARTS, November 1967]. To almost every Arab the message had seemed clear: Israel had aligned herself with the exploiters. The Arab "line" that Israel represented the Western imperial presence in the area had a new fury as a result of Suez, and Arab tendencies toward accommodation became politically untenable.

[RUSSIA'S OPEN ARMS POLICY]

THE IRANIAN EXPERIENCE HAD WARNED those Mideastern leaders bent in any sense on challenging the West that they had best not do it alone: The ironic impact of the U.S. Mideast intervention was to make Arab nations welcome a countervailing power. Given the Cold War, this could only mean the Soviet Union, and Nasser and others began to project nonalignment as an alternative to the Baghdad Pact, and as a necessary ingredient in the Arab Revolution.

The new Soviet presence in the Mideast began in 1955, after the Bandung Conference on nonaligned nations. One might have expected the Russians to move the Arab Revolution to seriously challenge the conditions which thwarted it. In fact, the Russian policy, though generous, aimed at less idealistic goals. The Soviets had been quite hostile to Nasser's regime until 1955, and considered it a step backward from the earlier Wafd government. The change towards Nasser occurred after a critical shift in Soviet policy to a free-swinging effort to win as many friends among the nonaligned, popular nationalist leaders of the Third World as possible, before the U.S. corralled them in the Free World stables. More isolated than the Americans, the Soviets were less hostile to non-alignment, since it meant, in most cases, a movement left.

The fact that the major physical confrontations in the Mideast were more directly with Israel than with the Western powers did not dampen Soviet enthusiasm. Indeed, the Russians were so pleased by the emergence of anti-Western foreign policy in what had previously been safe territory for the U.S., that Russian military and economic aid to Egypt began to flow unstintingly and uncritically. In this new pragmatic mood, which seemed to ape American largesse, the Soviets extended similar lines of credit to Algeria and Syria—while in all three countries the local communists were jailed and the radical slogans remained to a large extent on paper only. The Soviets asked only for "nonalignment," which in the Mideast context meant a friendlier—or even a less hostile—attitude toward their position in the Cold War.

It defines the distance between the current Soviet leaders and Russia's own revolution to observe that the Soviets came to accept the adventurism of the Syrians, the dependence on the corrupt bureaucracy basic to Nasser's regime, and the obsession of both with Israel, simply as defective aberrations in an otherwise sound move left. The Soviets did not choose to confront the implications of the fact that these were not aberrations, but alternative responses to the absence of popular revolution.

The social changes in both Syria and Egypt have been significant, but they have also been inadequate; they have destroyed the power of the traditional upper class without, in any significant sense, passing power on to that very broad base of the Arab pyramid. In both countries important reforms did occur. But these were the results of military *coups d'état* which, in a quite accidental process, placed men in power who were willing—for a host of often personal, frequently contradictory and politically vague reasons—to introduce reforms. Nevertheless, although such leaders undoubtedly react in part to the pent-up forces for change in the society, it is still government by fiat. The failure here is not a simple question of civil liberties; the experience in the underdeveloped countries has been that when the change comes from above rather than through struggle from below, it does not cut deep enough.

The Soviet press contained articles critical of internal developments in the Arab countries, but such criticisms were not considered when providing aid, which was virtually unending. The whole Russian operation was characterized by a mindlessness that catered to the mood of the Arabs—a mood not at all concerned with the content of the action but only with the dominance of anti-Western rhetoric. The indigenous Communist Parties had failed miserably over the decades to leave their mark on the Middle East. The Russians now seemed to feel that perhaps the Mideast was idiosyncratic and could only support a more bizarre politics.

[REVOLUTION: WHO NEEDS IT?]

Mere aid by the Soviet Union could not alter the dismal objective conditions of the area. As Walter Laqueur wrote: "It is doubtful whether any regime could have succeeded in these conditions.... In contrast to the Russia of 1917 or the China of 1949, Egypt did not have plenty of unused land or considerable natural resources: the conditions of 'primitive accumulation' to provide the basis for a policy of speedy industrialization did not exist."

The only possible solution lay in wedding the oil resources of the region, which were concentrated in the underpopulated areas, to the population base as a future work force. Yet, all the bold initiatives and at times frantic rhetoric of what has been bravely called the Arab Revolution—Nasser's Egypt, the Baath in Syria, the various progressives of Iraq, and the isolated sects of Palestine radicals roaming through Kuwait and the West Bank—have in no sense significantly challenged the supremacy of Western control of the region's oil.

It is ironic that the flow of oil to the West has only been jeopardized during the periodic flare-ups of the Israel issue, as in 1957 or the most recent boycott—but never through an assertion of Arab sovereignty over their resource. The identification of Israel—rather than the oil companies and their monarchies—as the serious extension of imperialism has allowed Arab progressives to play at revolution, through periodic anti-Israel tirades, without taking essential revolutionary action. If Israeli actions have served at times to reinforce this confusion, that does not make the Arab misdirection any more rational.

A most recent illustration of this phenomenon is afforded by the actions of the Syrian government—presumably the most radical in the Middle East—which last spring attempted to challenge the companies that control the Iraqi oil which passes through pipelines across Syria. After a series of wild manifestos, the Syrians settled down to still another compromise which left Western power over oil intact. It was almost at the very instant of this setback, in an almost Freudian transference, that the Syrians waged the frantic campaign against Israeli imperialism which was to lead to the six-day war.

[THE USSR AND SYRIAN "ADVENTURISM"]

It is impossible to understand the build-up of tensions that produced the six-day war without an appreciation of the way Syrian adventurism—with its support of the Al Fatah attacks and wild radio propaganda against Israel—combined with Soviet indulgence and irresponsibility.

After Syria broke with Egypt and quit the UAR, the Soviets sided with Egypt against Damascus. As late as 1965, an authoritative Soviet account of the governing Baath Party stated: "The Baath Party bears the character of an exclusive, conspiratorial organization like a medieval order, rigidly centralized, and unable to cooperate sincerely with anyone...."

Yet the Soviets were supporting Damascus in 1967. The decisive factor in the Soviet change was the willingness of a reshuffled Baath government to line up on Russia's side of the Cold War, despite the fact that the Baath remained a composite of middle-class politicians backed by the military and operating in isolation from the peasantry. The struggles which took place in Syria as well as in Egypt were factional rather than between broad social classes. It marks the essential failure of Soviet Mideast policy in the period before the six-day war that all this was known but overlooked. The Russians supported the Syrians because they were now "theirs," much as Americans rationalized supporting Syngman Rhee, and, for that matter Ky, because they were "ours."

The essential instability of the Syrian "left," reliant as it was on the whim of the Syrian military, was perhaps known to the Soviets; but they did not fully understand its implications until the disaster of the six-day war. Perhaps, in the Great Power tradition, they had been confident of their ability to manipulate the situation, but in the months before the war it was clearly Russia who was manipulated.

[THE USSR AND THE SIX-DAY WAR]

That the Soviet Union did not expect the war can be surmised from the fact that it did not anticipate the two major events which precipitated the crisis. The Soviet press, for example, reported the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force from Gaza and Aqaba, but did not mention the crucial change in the status of the Gulf of Aqaba, which, after U.N. withdrawal, came under the control of the UAR. Thus, the Soviets, at least publicly, did not recognize that with the UAR controlling the Gulf, Israeli shipping would not be allowed to pass through the Straits. Though this blockade led predictably to the Israelis' June 6th attack, comment in the Soviet press during the last week in May maintained that the entire withdrawal incident had been blown up all out of proportion. The failure of the Soviet government to make a public issue of the incident may indicate that it had lost control of events by the third week in May, and was unsure as to what to do or what would come next. Nasser, in his Cairo University speech of June 9, 1967, related that the Soviet ambassador had asked to see him at 3:30 one morning to inform him of the Soviets' "urgent plea" that the UAR should not be the first to begin firing.

The Soviets had apparently counted heavily on the Egyptians, who had acted more conservatively than Syria on the Israel question, to offset Syrian adventurism. The Russian policy was aimed at increasing pressure on the West, tying the Arabs closer to them, without the outbreak of full-scale war. Since the Cuban missile crisis, the Soviets have been unwilling to engage in a showdown with the U.S.; this has led them to risk bringing international tensions dangerously close but not to the actual point of showdown. Yet in the Mideast, the Soviets helped create a situation they could no longer control. The blockade of Aqaba came about largely because the Soviets had supported Syria's claim that Israeli troops were massing on her borders, and because they pressured the Egyptians to come to Syria's aid.

It is not yet known whether the Egyptians consulted with the Soviets on the demand for withdrawal of the U.N. troops, but once this took place, the Soviets were clearly unprepared to assess its implications. They apparently did not realize that if U.N. troops were withdrawn from the Aqaba area (there is some evidence that Nasser meant only the troops from Upper Sinai and Gaza), the logic of Egypt's anti-Israel position would lead to the blockade of Israeli shipping. Nor did they anticipate that Israel would go to war over Aqaba, or the massing of Egyptian troops in the Sinai. The Soviets continuously underestimated the emotional depth and political intensity of the Arab-Israeli conflict. But it should be added that the Soviets were more willing to support an Arab confrontation with Israel—they knew the U.S. would hesitate to become directly involved for fear of endangering the pro-Western Arab regimes—than they would have been to support an Egyptian attack on Saudi Arabia, in which case America might more readily intervene.

Since the war, the Soviet intellectual analysis of Arab defeat and Soviet military aid to Arab nations have been going in opposite directions. The Soviet press had criticized the UAR officers corps for "inwardly not accepting the Egyptian Revolution," thus echoing a long-standing criticism of the UAR for not having made a throughgoing social revolution. But, more importantly, the Soviet government immediately began to rearm Egypt and Syria, specifying only that their arms should be better used. While their arms and aid policies have remained unchanged, the Soviets seem to have become much more openly critical of the continued tendency on the Arab left to demand a military solution of the conflict with Israel.

The New Times (the official weekly journal of the USSR) quoted with approval a recent Italian communist statement which, for the first time in recent years, endorsed the view that: "A more judicious path would be to search for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, taking into account that in Israel, too, there are left forces. . . ." Nevertheless, the massive flow of Soviet arms continues, unaffected by such intellectual concerns. Once again, Soviet policy is characterized by a pursuit of "allies" in the Cold War, with the same concern for their own national interest which marks American foreign policy.

[WILL THE REAL IMPERIALISTS PLEASE STAND UP]

THE CENTRAL THESIS of this essay is that the Great Powers cannot be expected to be concerned, on any consistent basis, with the interests and needs of the Arabs and Jews who live in the Mideast. On the contrary, preoccupied with their own "prestige" and security needs, the Great Powers can only be a source of interference. The issues which currently divide Arab from Jew are not as basic to their well-being as the interests they share which alienate them both from the Great Powers outside. This assertion, of course, runs directly counter to the basic assumption of both Arabs and Israelis that they are each other's worst enemies, and that Great Power aid is essential to their survival.

Under the best of circumstances—given the fullest cooperation of outsiders—the problems of the Middle East will not easily be solved. The wounds are deep, and they have been opened and reopened so many times that scar tissue has permanently replaced the original skin. It is difficult for even private citizens of the Arab countries and Israel to be in the same room without the interminable chant rising about broken agreements, terrorist raids, veiled purposes, imperialism and aggression.

Each side identifies the opposition with the notion of imperialism. To the Arabs it is "Zionist imperialism" and to the Israelis, "Nasserist imperialism." Ironically, the Arab left and the Israelis both claim that the American oil companies support the other side's "imperialism." But both sides imply that Western economic interests bear only a minor connection to the problem of imperialism in the Mideast. When I interviewed Abba Eban I asked him about the oil companies. Incredibly, Eban replied: "I don't see this as imperialism. The oil companies made their investment and they are taking their profits."

A glance at the war in Yemen makes it somewhat clearer who the imperialists really are. In 1965, the endemic conflict in Yemen, where Egyptian-backed nationalists faced forces financed by the Saudi government, came to a head. At that point the U.S. signed an agreement with Saudi Arabia for the construction of military facilities, effective May 24th, to run for six years. The construction was in the hands of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. America's determination to protect King Faisal must have made Israel seem to Nasser like a much easier target than Yemen. For all the presumed power of American Zionists, the U.S. military assistance program allocated $27.6 million for Israel in the years between 1950-67, quite a bit less than to Arab states friendly to the U.S.: Saudi Arabia received $161.7 million; Jordan, $55.6 million; Iraq, $46.6 million.

Western protection of the Arab oil states is made more effective by the realities of Great Power accommodation. The Soviet Union has clearly indicated that she will go to great lengths to avoid any military confrontation with the United States. As the U.S. clearly demonstrated, when Eisenhower sent troops to Lebanon in 1958, it is a good deal easier to intervene directly on the side of one Arab party against another than to intervene on the side of Israel against the Arab countries. Had the U.S. intervened militarily on the side of Israel in the June war, it would have become virtually impossible for Americans and American companies to function in Arab countries thereafter, and a permanent anti-Western Arab unity between royalty and republicans might well have resulted. And Arab unity of any sort is anathema to the Western powers as much as to Israel.

[THE ARAB DIASPORA]

THE POLITICAL LEADERS in Tel Aviv may dismiss Nasser's appeal as a matter of "charisma"; but what they do not grasp is that his charisma is as meaningful to the Arabs, who believe in the necessity of a united Arab nation, as was Ben-Gurion's to the earlier Zionist Jews. Nasser is the symbol of a nation for a people who have none. And, although he may lose that quality, as Ben-Gurion seems to have done, the need for a symbol will remain.

The Arab denial of legitimate Jewish nationhood as the basis of Israel is the subject of deserved ridicule. But that the mainstream of Zionism has, in like fashion, denied the existence of a legitimate Arab quest for nationhood is not commonly admitted. This factor has been of great significance in the formation and sustaining of Arab hostility towards Israel: the Arabs will never be able to turn their energies from opposing Israel to the development of an Arab nation so long as the Israelis hold the existence of an Arab nation to be a threat.

This view existed even before the State of Israel. David Ben-Gurion, at the time one of the Zionists most sympathetic to the Arabs, said in a New York City speech in 1942: "The first thing to make clear is that there is no Arab problem in the sense that there is a Jewish. There is no homeless Arab people, no Arab migration. Just the contrary. The Arabs are among the rare races which are almost entirely, with insignificant exceptions, concentrated in their own territories."

It was natural that Ben-Gurion should think of homelessness in the sense that the Jews had experienced it—as a result of migration. But the essential psychological thrust of nationalist movements against colonialism is that people *feel* homeless in their traditional geographical residence when the political and economic decisions of that area are made by alien forces. Western colonialism, which had replaced that of the Turks, still ruled in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, as well as in Palestine, at the time of Ben-Gurion's speech.

The Arabs suffered their own kind of Diaspora in their native land. Ben-Gurion and the other Zionists entered an Arab world fragmented by the boundaries and rules of foreign powers—a world hardly likely to be rational about the immigration of another group of Europeans.

Given these feelings on the part of the Arabs, it became increasingly difficult for the Israelis to view the drive towards Arab unity and independence as anything but a threat. This view was understandable, but dangerous, since it increasingly came to be accompanied by an intellectual position which held that Arab concern with Western imperialism was fraudulently conceived. This developed further as the Israelis tried to justify their alliance with the French and English in the Suez war. The insensitivity of Israeli leaders at that time to the importance of Nasser's nationalization of the Canal led them to seriously underestimate the strategic and psychological effects of Israel's action. The nationalization was *the* event of Arab nationalism —the one really successful moment—and Israel was on the wrong side.

Israeli leaders compounded their error, insisting that the West was not a threat to the Arabs. Perhaps this point of view received its most extensive treatment in Abba Eban's Oxford lecture, published in 1959 as a book, *The Tide of Nationalism*. Eban accepted the "cultural affinity" felt by the Arabs, but was unwilling to admit that this constituted any valid basis for nationhood: ". . . cultural unity, however profound, does not settle the issue of political unity."

Eban's preoccupation with Nasser as a threat to Israel and his unwillingness to admit Arab national aspirations led him to deny any validity to the Arab attempts at anti-imperialism: "[The Arabs] decline to admit that Western domination has gone away. They pursue their 'imperialist' adversary far beyond the point of his own retreat. . . . There is a perverse insistence on settling accounts." Assuming that Western domination had "gone away," Eban concluded that defense of the political status quo was the best policy for the Middle East. And the status quo would best be defended by arming Israel to the teeth: "The leading Western capitals are now aware that any plans to stabilize the Middle East must include a serious effort to reinforce Israel in all the elements of her strength and spirit."

In this same analysis, however, Eban confers upon Israel precisely the nationhood he denies to the Arabs: "Israel's nationalism is more than a political movement. It is a faith, a religion, a culture, a civilization—a journey together of people across generations of martyrdom. . . ."

It is difficult for an Arab nationalist to accept the legitimacy of this Israeli nationalism when leading Israeli spokesmen deny *his* right to a nation. The Israelis must come to accept the fact that nationhood is an aspiration which some Arabs legitimately hold without having been conned into it by Nasser; and that an Arab state—if it became a reality (as a confederation or a nation)—is not necessarily a threat to Israel. Until Israeli Jews come to understand that Arabs, too, can have their Diaspora, they will not be able to make peace.

[A BREAK WITH THE PAST]

ISRAEL IS NOW THREE TIMES as large as she was before the war and, if she retains the conquered lands—as many of her younger leaders such as Dayan and Allon seem bent on doing—she will have confirmed the Arab charge of being an expansionist country. Israel's military/agricultural settlements on the conquered land and her exploitation of Egypt's oil in Sinai repeat the error of Suez, and demonstrate a chronic Israeli indifference to or ignorance of the Arab fear of colonialism. Can it be seriously argued that Israel's long term security will be enhanced by her intended entry into the ranks of those foreigners who sell Arab oil? It is a continuation of the tragic proclivity of each side to fulfill the other's worst prophecies.

Israelis do not take seriously the danger of their becoming the expansionist state which the Arabs have long accused them of being. But current developments are pushing Israel in that direction, and her best intentions may in the long run prove irrelevant. There is incessant talk now in Israel about all the good work that will be done in the West Bank and in Gaza—schools will be built, land reclaimed and trade will thrive. But, given Israel's technical and commercial superiority, she will dominate the life of the area. The situation has a dynamic all its own. At first the Israelis attempted to be as moderate as possible in their rule, but, with new acts of Arab opposition, they have responded more harshly. This, in turn, breeds fresh acts of opposition.

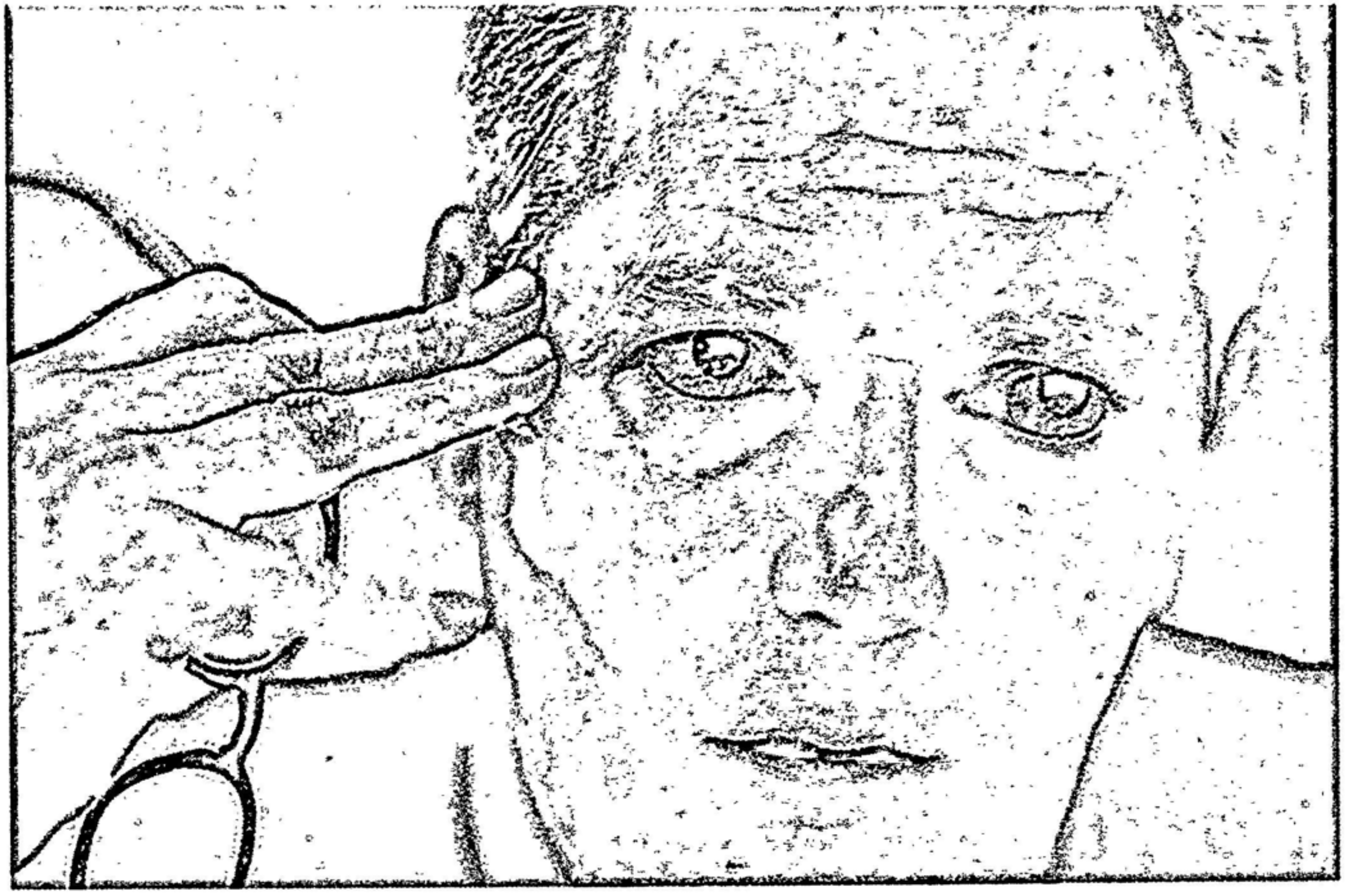
It is one of the saving graces of Israel that the people who have suffered most from the wars with the Arabs harbor the least hate. The kids from the border Kibbutzim who were raised in underground nurseries and grew up to pick their way through the mines of the Syrian heights have a greater compassion for the Arabs than the scores of American journalists banging out their snappy copy at the Tel Aviv Hilton.

Unfortunately, the Kibbutzniks will not determine the course of events. A solution of the Mideast crisis demands a revolt on both sides against short-sighted nationalism, and against the incursions of the Great Powers into the Mideast. It means, above all, a confrontation of Arab nationalism with the Western governments which control this area, rather than with Israel. Israel must support the Arabs in this effort.

But Israel will not break with the West, unless the Arabs who consider themselves progressives can come to accept Israel as a partner in the effort to free the Mideast from Western domination. Unless this is done, the "Arab Revolution" will remain a prisoner of Arab reaction. In the final analysis, the crusade against Israel is a trump card to be played by the pro-Western monarchies against any socialist rival.

The Arab nation and the Jewish nation are both legitimate concepts which can survive together only if they exist as part of the same social revolution to meet the needs of the people of the Mideast. But, as competing nationalisms of the old model, neither is viable, and the histrionics of a Ben-Gurion or a Nasser cannot alter that fact.

Researchers for this article and Part I [RAMPARTS, *November 1967*] *include Bob Avakian, Jim Hawley, David Kolodney and John Spitzer.*



The Garrison Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy

JIM GARRISON IS AN ANGRY MAN. For six years now he has been the tough, uncompromising district attorney of New Orleans, a rackets-buster without parallel in a political freebooting state. He was elected on a reform platform and meant it. Turning down a Mob proposition that would have netted him $3000 a week as his share of slot machine proceeds, he proceeded to raid Bourbon Street clip joints, crack down on prostitution and eliminate bail bond rackets. His track record as the proverbial fighting DA is impressive: his office has never lost a major case, and no convictions have been toppled on appeal because of improper methods.

Garrison is angry right now—as angry as if some bribed cops had tried to steer him away from a vice ring or as if the Mob had attempted to use political clout to get him off their backs. Only this time, the file reads "Conspiracy to Assassinate President Kennedy," and it isn't *Cosa Nostra*, but the majestic might of the United States government which is trying to keep him from his duty.

"Who appointed Ramsey Clark, who has done his best to torpedo the investigation of the case?" he fumed in a recent speech before a gathering of southern California newscasters. "Who controls the CIA? Who controls the FBI? Who controls the Archives where this evidence is locked up for so long that it is unlikely that there is anybody in this room who will be alive when it is released? This is really your property and the property of the people of this country. Who has the arrogance and the brass to prevent the people from seeing that evidence? Who indeed?

"The one man who has profited most from the assassination—your friendly President, Lyndon Johnson!"

Garrison made it clear that he was not accusing Johnson of complicity in the crime, but left no doubt that as far as he was concerned, the burden had shifted to the government to prove that it was not an accessory before or after the fact. "I assume that the President of the United States is not involved," he said. "But wouldn't it be nice to know it?"

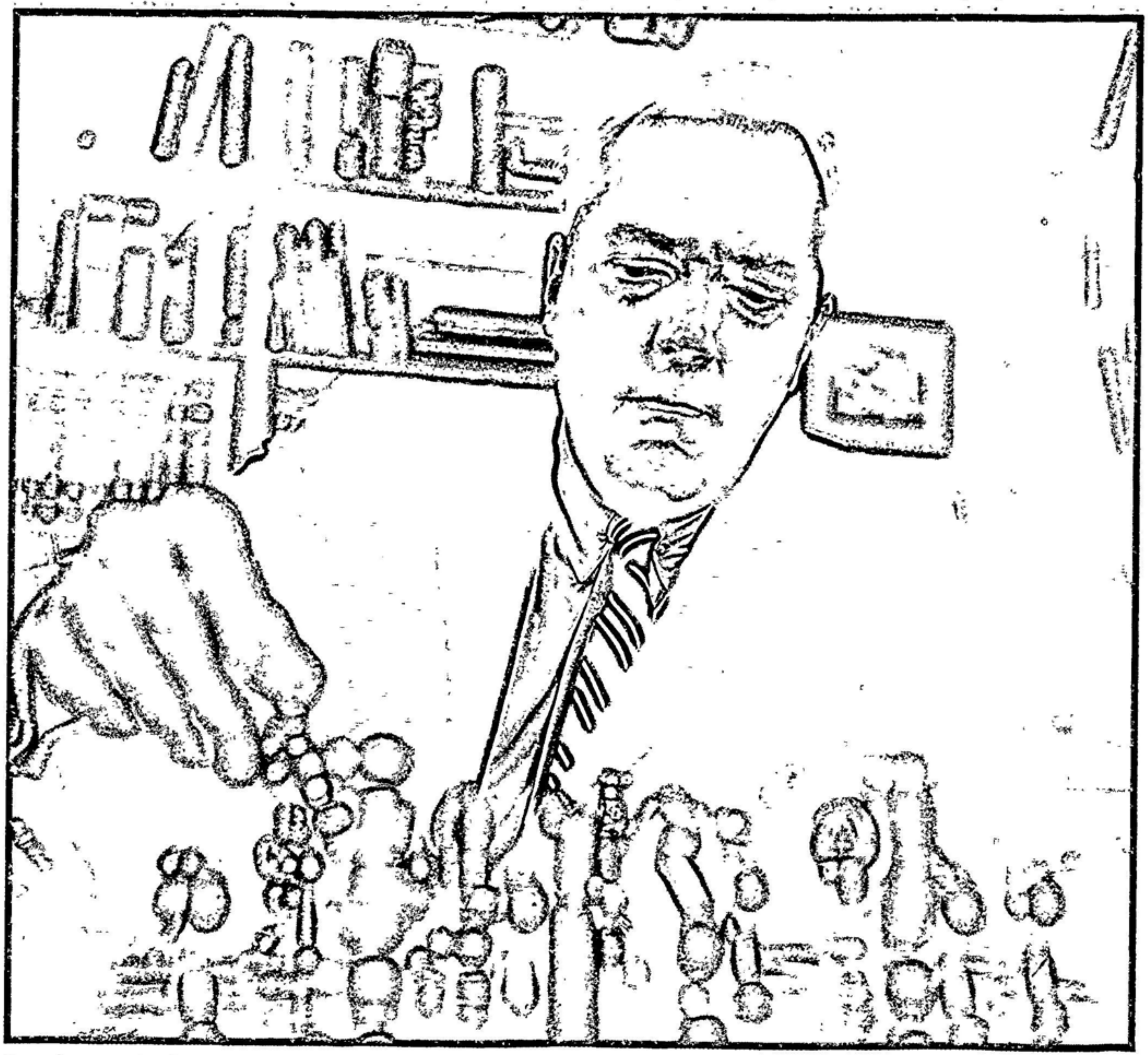
The simple probity of Garrison's challenge is underscored by the fact that the government and government-oriented

by William W. Turner

Photography by Matt Herron

forces have concealed and destroyed evidence, intimidated witnesses and maligned, ridiculed and impeded Garrison and his investigation. In short, the conduct of the government has not been that of an innocent party, but of one determined to cover its tracks. For the past nine months, I have worked closely with the DA and his staff, hoping to contribute to their investigation. In my opinion there is no question that they have uncovered a conspiracy. Nor is there any doubt that Jim Garrison is one of a vanishing breed: a Southern populist anchored in very traditional American ideals about justice and truth, who can neither rationalize nor temporize in pursuit of them.

By design or ignorance, the mass media—from NBC to Life—have created an image of Garrison as a ruthless opportunist with vaulting political ambition, which naturally leads to the conclusion that he is trying to parlay the death of a President into a political *tour de force*. He is, in fact, neither knave nor fool. No politician on the make would be reckless enough to attempt to usurp the findings of the seven distinguished men of the Warren Commission. "It's not a matter of wanting to gain headlines," says Garrison indignantly. "It's a matter of not being able to sleep at night. I am in an official position in a city where the greater part of the planning of the assassination of President Kennedy took place, and this was missed by the Warren Commission. What would these people who have at-



PHOTOGRAPHER'S NOTE: *Garrison and I played a game of chess. We thought the board looked too staid for pictures with all the pieces in starting order, so I led off with my king's pawn and then (foolishly) played my king's bishop to bishop four. Garrison could have clobbered me, but instead he chose to play the game much as he has played the investigation. First, he solidly occupied the center. Then he developed his major pieces carefully and painstakingly. At first glance he didn't seem to be making much progress nor to be taking full advantage of my obvious weaknesses, but when he finally launched his attack, he was so solidly entrenched there was nothing I could do. In those circumstances a gentleman would have resigned.*

tacked me do if they were here and had official responsibility? Would they be able to sleep nights? Would they be able to say, 'Jack Kennedy is dead and there is nothing I can do about it?' "

[THE MAKING OF A DA]

GARRISON'S ATTITUDES were undoubtedly set by his experiences during World War II in Europe where, while flying a Piper Cub as an artillery spotter during the Allied sweep, he came upon Dachau. The residue of horror he witnessed there etched itself so deeply on his conscience that in the foreword to a collection of criminology essays published in 1966, he deplored the apathy that permitted Dachau. Since man emerged from the mists of time, he wrote, "such reason as he possesses has produced the cross, the bowl of hemlock, the gallows, the rack, the gibbet, the guillotine, the sword, the machine gun, the electric chair, the hand grenade, the personnel mine, the flame thrower, poison gas, the nearly obsolete TNT bomb, the obsolescent atom bomb and the currently popular hydrogen bomb—all made to maim or destroy his fellow man.* Garrison, who is fond of allegorical example, pictured an extraterrestrial being happening upon a self-desolated world and asking, "What happened to your disinterested millions? Your uncommitted and uninvolved, your preoccupied and bored? Where today are their private horizons and their mirrored worlds of self? Where is their splendid indifference now?"

With a diploma from Tulane University law school, Garrison tried the life of an FBI agent but found the role too circumscribed to be stimulating. A stint with a firm specializing in corporation law was likewise unrewarding. After another tour of duty in the Korean War —he is presently a Lt. Colonel in the Louisiana National Guard—he latched on as an assistant DA in New Orleans and began his public career. After two unsuccessful tries at elective office, he pulled an upset in the 1961 district attorney race. Bucking the Democratic machine and backed only by five young lawyers known as the "Nothing Group" because of their lack of money and prestige, he took to television and came on strong. Like Jack Kennedy, he projected a youthful vigor and enthusiasm that was missing in the stereotyped politicians he was opposing.

Garrison's current battle to get the Justice Department, the FBI and the CIA to release evidence about the assassination is not the first time he has tangled with anal retentive government authorities. After the DA's Bourbon Street raids, the city's eight criminal judges began blocking his source of funds for the raids, a fines forfeitures pool. Garrison took on the judges in a running dispute that was the talk of New Orleans. On one occasion, a luncheon of the Temple Sinai Brotherhood, he likened the judges to "the sacred cows of India." On another, he accused them of goldbricking by taking 206 holidays, "not counting legal holidays like All Saints' Day, Long's Birthday and St. Winterbottom's Day." Outraged, the judges collectively filed criminal defamation charges. (Complained one, "People holler 'Moo' at me.") The case escalated to the U.S. Supreme Court, where a landmark decision upheld Garrison's right to criticize public officials.

He exercised that right. When Mayor Victor H. Schiro vacillated on an issue, he quipped, "Not since Hamlet tried to decide whether or not to stab the king of Denmark has there been so agonizing a decision." But if he was an embarrassment to officials, he was a delight to the voters. In 1965, he was returned to office by a two to one margin—the first New Orleans DA to be reelected in 30 years.

GARRISON'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY defies definition. He subscribes in part to Ayn Rand's individualist dogma, but is too much of a traditional democrat to accept its inevitable elitism. He is friendly with segregationists and archconservatives, but bristles at the mention of the Ku Klux Klan. Negro leaders have no quarrel with his conduct of office, and he has appointed Negroes as assistant DAs. Several years ago when the police vice squad tried to sweep James Baldwin's *Another Country* from bookstore shelves, he refused to prosecute ("How can you define obscenity?") and denounced the censorship in stinging terms, thus incurring the wrath of the White Citizens Council. He sees no virtue in capital punishment, but is somewhat ambivalent on the ~~libertarian~~ RED trend in court decisions. In a law quarterly he predicted that increasing emphasis on "the rights of the defendant against the state may come to be seen as the greatest contribution our country has made to this world we live in"; yet on occasion he has implied that Supreme Court decisions are a factor in the rising rate of violent crime.

But since the start of his assassination probe, his views on many issues have changed appreciably. "A year ago I was a mild hawk on Vietnam," he relates. "But no more. I've discovered the government has told so many lies in this [the assassination] case it can't be believed on anything." He fears that the U.S. is evolving into a "~~proto-fascist state,~~ PROTO-RED," and cites as one indication the subtle quashing of dissent by an increasingly autocratic central government. The massive and still growing power of the CIA and the defense establishment, he contends, is transforming the old America into a Kafkaesque society in which power is equated with morality.

Garrison detests being called flamboyant, which is the most common adjective applied to him, and in truth he makes no conscious effort at ostentation. But he is one of those arresting figures who automatically dominates any gathering, and his bold strokes in battle, as deliberate as his moves in chess, seem to dramatize his formidable personality. He also must rank as one of the more intellectual big city DAs. He avidly devours history—it reflects in his metaphor —and quotes everything from Graham Greene and Lewis Carroll to Polonius' advice to Laertes. But he is not exactly a square. Once known as a Bourbon Street swinger, he is still familiar in a few of the livelier French Quarter spots, where he can sometimes be found holding forth on the piano and crooning a *basso profundo* rendition of a tune popular half a generation ago. But mostly he sticks to his study at home, and his striking blonde wife and five kids.

It may be that in the end, the rank unfairness of the current siege on Garrison will be its undoing, for the American sense of fair play is not easily trifled with. But do the people really want the truth about the assassination, or is it more comfortable to let sleeping dogs lie? Garrison sees this as the pivotal question in the history of the American democratic experiment: "In our incipient superstate it really doesn't matter what happened. Truth is what the government chooses to tell you. Justice is what it wants to happen. It is better for you not to know that at midday on Novem-

AND THE SIBERIAN SLAVE LABOR CAMPS!

ber 22, 1963, there were many men in many places glancing at their watches. But if we do not fight for the truth now, we may never have another chance."

[THE FBI CLEARS A SUSPECT]

ON THE MORNING AFTER the assassination, as the nation lay stunned by grief, Garrison summoned his staff to the office for a "brainstorming session" to explore the possibility that Lee Harvey Oswald had accomplices in New Orleans, where the previous summer he had stumped the streets advocating Fair Play for Cuba.

The DA's men put out feelers into the city's netherworld, and it was First Assistant DA Frank Klein who registered the first feedback. A slight, furtive, sometime private eye named Jack S. Martin confided that a David William Ferrie had taken off on a sudden trip to Texas the afternoon of the assassination. The tipster knew Ferrie well, although there was bad blood between them. Both had worked intermittently for the same detective firm, W. Guy Banister & Associates, and were affiliated with the Apostolic Orthodox Old Catholic Church, a sect steeped in theological anti-communism. An exceptionally skilled pilot, Ferrie had been dismissed from Eastern Air Lines in 1962 due to publicity over alleged homosexual activities.

According to Martin, Ferrie had commanded a Civil Air Patrol squadron of which Oswald had once been a member. He had taught Oswald to shoot with a telescopic sight, and had become involved with his protege in an assassination plot. Less than two weeks before the target date, Ferrie had made a trip to Dallas. His assigned role in the assassination, Martin said, was to fly the escaping conspirators to Matamoros, Mexico, near Brownsville, Texas.

When Ferrie returned to New Orleans on the Monday following President Kennedy's death, he was interrogated by the DA's office. He said his trip had been arranged "on the spur of the moment." With two companions, Alvin Beauboeuf and Melvin Coffey, he had driven straight through to Houston Friday night. On Saturday afternoon, the three skated at an ice rink; that evening they made the short jog to Galveston and hunted geese Sunday morning. Sunday afternoon they headed back to New Orleans, but detoured to Alexandria, Louisiana, to visit relatives of Beauboeuf.

NOT UNCOMMON

Garrison was unconvinced by Ferrie's account. An all-night dash through the worst rainstorm in years to start a mercurial junket of over 1000 miles in three days for recreational purposes was too much to swallow. "It was a curious trip to a curious place at a curious time," the DA recalls. He booked Ferrie as a "fugitive from Texas" and handed him over to the FBI. The G-men questioned him intensively, then released him.

Since the 40-odd pages recording the FBI interrogation of Ferrie are still classified in the National Archives, one can only surmise the reasons the Bureau stamped its file on him "closed."

Apparently the FBI did not take the pilot too seriously. A short Bureau document in the National Archives reveals Ferrie had admitted being "publicly and privately" critical of Kennedy for withholding air cover at the Bay of Pigs, and had used expressions like "he ought to be shot," but agents agreed he did not mean the threat literally.

Most convincing at the time, the fact that Ferrie did not leave New Orleans until hours after the assassination seemed to rule out his role as a getaway pilot. Moreover, the Stinson monoplane he then owned was sitting at Lakefront Airport in unflyable condition.

Accepting the FBI's judgment, Garrison dropped his investigation. "I had full confidence in the FBI then," he explains. "There was no reason to try and second guess them."

For three years the DA's faith in the Bureau's prowess remained unshaken. Then in November 1966, squeezed into a tourist-class seat on an Eastern jet headed for New York, his interest in the possibility of a conspiracy was rekindled. Flanking him were Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana and Joseph Rault Jr, a New Orleans oilman. The previous week, Long had remarked in the course of a press conference that he doubted the findings of the Warren Commission. It was at the height of the controversy stirred by publications ripping at the Commission's methods and conclusions.

Garrison bombarded the senator with questions in the manner, he reminisces, "of a prosecutor cross-examining a witness." Long maintained that there were grievous flaws and unexplored territory in the Warren Report. He considered it highly implausible that a gunman of Oswald's "mediocre skill" could have fired with pinpoint accuracy within a time constraint barely sufficient "for a man to get off two shots from a bolt-action rifle, much less three."

The DA's mind reverted to the strange trip of pilot David Ferrie, and he began to wonder how perceptive the FBI had really been in dismissing the whole thing. When he returned to New Orleans, he went into virtual seclusion in his study at home, lucubrating over the volumes of the Warren Report. When he became convinced that Oswald could not have acted alone, and that at least a phase of the conspiracy had been centered in New Orleans, he committed his office to a full-scale probe. He launched it quietly, preferring to work more efficiently in the dark.

THE PROBE REFOCUSED ON Ferrie, and on December 15 he was brought in for further questioning. Asked pertinent details of the whirlwind Texas trip in 1963, he begged lack of memory and referred his questioners to the FBI. What about the goose hunting? "We did in fact get to where the geese were and there were thousands," he recounted. "But you couldn't approach them. They were a wise bunch of birds." Pressed for details of what took place at the ice rink, Ferrie became irritated. "Ice skate—what do you think?" he snapped.

It didn't take the DA's men long to poke holes in Ferrie's story. Melvin Coffey, one of his companions on the 1963 Texas trip, deposed that it was not a sudden inspiration:

Q. The trip was arranged before?

A. Yes.

Q. How long before?

A. A couple of days.

The probers also determined that no one had taken along any shotguns on the "goose-hunting" trip.

In Houston, the ice skating alibi was similarly discredited. In 1963, the FBI had interviewed Chuck Rolland, proprietor of the Winterland Skating Rink. "FERRIE contacted him by telephone November 22, 1963, and asked for the skating schedule," a Bureau report, one of the few unclassified documents on Ferrie, reveals. "Mr. FERRIE stated that he was coming in from out of town and desired to do some skating while in Houston. On November 23, 1963, between 3:30 and 5:30 PM, Mr. FERRIE and two companions came to the rink and talked to Mr. ROLLAND." The report continues that Ferrie and Rolland had a short general conversation, and that Ferrie remarked that "he and his companions would be in and out of the skating rink during the weekend" (Commission Documents 301). When Garrison's men recently talked to Rolland, they obtained pertinent facts that the FBI had either missed or failed to report in 1963. Rolland was certain that none of the three men in Ferrie's party had ice skated; Ferrie had spent the entire two hours he was at the rink standing by a pay telephone—and finally received a call.

At Houston International Airport, more information was gleaned. Air service personnel seemed to recall that in 1963 Ferrie had access to an airplane based in Houston. In this craft, the flight to Matamoros would take little more than an hour.

Ferrie had patently lied about the purpose of the trip. One of the standard tactics of bank robbers is to escape from the scene of the crime in a "hot car" that cannot be traced to them, then switch to a "cold car" of their own to complete the getaway. Garrison considers it possible that Ferrie may have been the pilot of a second craft in a two-stage escape of the Dallas assassins to south of the border, or may have been slated to be a backup pilot in the event contingency plans were activated.

Did Ferrie know Oswald? The pilot denied it, but the evidence mounts that he did. For example, there is now in Garrison's hands information that when Oswald was arrested by Dallas police, he had in his possession a *current* New Orleans library card issued to David Ferrie. Reinforcing the validity of this information is a Secret Service report on the questioning of Ferrie by that agency when he was in federal custody in 1963. During an otherwise mild interrogation, Ferrie was asked, strangely enough, if he lent his library card to Oswald. No, he replied, producing a card from the New Orleans public library in the name Dr. David Ferrie. That card had expired.

When he realized he was a suspect in Garrison's current investigation, Ferrie seemed to deteriorate. By the time he died on February 22, 1967, he was a nervous wreck, subsisting on endless cigarettes and cups of coffee and enough tranquilizers to pacify an army. He had sought out the press only days before his death, labeling the probe a "fraud" and complaining that he was the victim of a "witch hunt." "I suppose he has me pegged as a getaway pilot," he remarked bitterly.

When Garrison delivered his epitaph of Ferrie as "one of history's most important individuals," most of the press winked knowingly. The probe was, after all, a publicity stunt, and the DA had had his headlines. Now that his prime suspect had conveniently passed away, he had the perfect excuse to inter his probe alongside the deceased pilot.

But for DA Jim Garrison, it was not the end but the beginning.

[544 CAMP STREET, NEW ORLEANS]

"WHILE THE LEGEND '544 Camp St., NEW ORLEANS, LA.' was stamped on some of the literature that Oswald had in his possession at the time of his arrest [for "disturbing the peace"] in New Orleans, extensive investigation was not able to connect Oswald with that address" (Warren Report, p. 408). So said the Commission. But Garrison *has* connected Oswald with that address. His investigation shows that Oswald functioned in a paramilitary right-wing milieu of which 544 Camp Street was a nerve center, and that Oswald's ostentatious "Fair Play for Cuba" advocacy was nothing more than a facade.

The dilapidated building at 544 Camp Street is on the corner of Lafayette Place. Shortly after news of Garrison's investigation broke, I went to 531 Lafayette Place, an address given me by Minutemen defector Jerry Milton Brooks as the office of W. Guy Banister, a former FBI official who ran a private detective agency. According to Brooks, who had been a trusted Minutemen aide, Banister was a member of the Minutemen and head of the Anti-Communism League of the Caribbean, assertedly an intermediary between the CIA and Caribbean insurgency movements. Brooks said he had worked for Banister on "anti-Communist" research in 1961-1962, and had known David Ferrie as a frequent visitor to Banister's office.

Banister had died of an apparent heart attack in the summer of 1964. But Brooks had told me of two associates whom I hoped to find. One was Hugh F. Ward, a young investigator for Banister who also belonged to the Minutemen and the Anti-Communism League. Then I learned that Ward, too, was dead. Reportedly taught to fly by David Ferrie, he was at the controls of a Piper Aztec when it plunged to earth near Ciudad Victoria, Mexico, May 23, 1965.

The other associate was Maurice Brooks Gatlin Sr, legal counsel to the Anti-Communism League of the Caribbean. Jerry Brooks said he had once been a sort of protegé of Gatlin and was in his confidence. Brooks believed Gatlin's frequent world travels were as a "transporter" for the CIA. As an example, he said, Gatlin remarked about 1962, in a self-important manner, that he had $100,000 of CIA money earmarked for a French right-wing clique that was going to attempt to assassinate General de Gaulle; shortly afterward Gatlin flew to Paris. The search for Gatlin, however, was likewise futile: in 1964 he fell or was pushed from the sixth floor of the El Panama Hotel in Panama during the early morning, and was killed instantly.

ANY EVIDENCE ??

But the trip to 531 Lafayette Place was not entirely fruitless. The address, I discovered, was a side entrance to 544 Camp Street. Entering either at the front or the side, one arrives via a walkup staircase at the same second floor space. That second floor once housed the Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Front and W. Guy Banister & Associates.

Guy Banister had been in charge of the Chicago FBI office before retiring in 1955 and becoming New Orleans deputy superintendent of police for several years. He was regarded as one of the city's most vocal anti-Castroites, and published the racist Louisiana Intelligence Digest, which depicted integration as a communist conspiracy. Evidence of his relationship with the federal intelligence *apparat* has recently surfaced. A man who knew Banister well has told Garrison that Banister became associated with the Office of Naval Intelligence through the recommendation of Guy Johnson, an ONI reserve officer and the first attorney for Clay Shaw when he was arrested by Garrison.

A copyrighted story in the New Orleans States-Item, April 25, 1967, further illuminates the Camp Street scene. The newspaper, which at the time had an investigative team working parallel to the Garrison probe, reported that a reliable source close to Banister said he had seen 50 to 100 boxes marked "Schlumberger" in Banister's office-storeroom early in 1961 before the Bay of Pigs. The boxes contained rifle grenades, land mines and unique "little missiles." Banister explained that "the

A BIG EFFORT UNDERWAY TO TAKE BLAME OF COMMIES!

stuff would just be there overnight . . . a bunch of fellows connected with the Cuban deal asked to leave it there overnight." It was all right, assured Banister, "I have approval from somebody."

The "somebody," one can surmise from the Gordon Novel episode which follows, was the CIA. Novel is wanted by the DA as a material witness in the 1961 burglary of the Schlumberger Well Co. munitions dump near New Orleans. Subpoenaed by the grand jury last March, Novel fled to McLean, Virginia, next door to the CIA complex at Langley, and took a lie detector test administered by a former Army intelligence officer which, he boasted to the press, proved Garrison's probe was a fraud. He then skipped first to Montreal and then to Columbus, Ohio, from where Governor James Rhodes, in one of the most absurd stipulations ever attached to a normally routine procedure, refuses to extradite him unless Garrison agrees not to question him on the assassination.

From his Ohio sanctuary the fugitive cryptically asserted that the munitions caper was one of "the most patriotic burglaries in history." When an enterprising reporter took him to a marathon party, Novel's indiscreet tongue loosened further. According to the States-Item article, Novel's oft-repeated account was that the munitions bunker was a CIA staging point for war materiel destined for use in the impending Bay of Pigs invasion. He is quoted as saying that on the day the munitions were picked up, he "was called by his CIA contact and told to join a group which was ordered to transport munitions from the bunker to New Orleans." The key to the bunker was provided by his CIA contact. Novel reportedly said the others in the CIA group at the bunker were David Ferrie, Sergio Arcacha Smith—New Orleans delegate to the Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Front—and several Cubans. The munitions, according to his account, were dropped in Novel's office, Ferrie's home and Banister's office-storeroom.

Ferrie worked on and off for Banister as an investigator, and the mutual affinity was such that in 1962, when Eastern Air Lines was in the process of dismissing Ferrie for publicity over alleged homosexual acts, Banister appeared at a Miami hearing and delivered an impassioned plea on his behalf. When Banister suddenly died, the ex-pilot evidently acquired part of his files. When he realized he was a prime suspect in Garrison's probe, Ferrie systematically disposed of his papers and documents for the years 1962 and 1963. But in photocopying the bibliography of a cancer paper he had written (at one time he had caged mice in his home on which he experimented with cancer implants), he inadvertantly overlapped the bottom portion of notes recording the dispositions. Included is the notation: "Copies of B's [presumably Banister's] microfilm files to Atlanta rite-wingers [sic]."

The Banister files were reputed to be the largest collection of "anti-communist intelligence" in Louisiana, and part were sold by his widow to the Sovereignty Commission, a sort of state HUAC, where a Garrison investigator was able to examine them. Banister's filing system was modeled after the FBI's, and contained files on both friends and foes. The "10" and "23" classification dealt with Cuban matters; 23-5, for example, was labeled Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Front and 10-209 simply Cuban File. There was a main file, 23-14, labeled Shaw File, but someone had completely stripped it before Garrison's man got there.

The Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Front, which occupied what was grandiosely called Suite 6 at 544 Camp Street, was the coalition of Cuban exile "liberation" groups operating under CIA aegis that mounted the Bay of Pigs invasion. Arcacha, the New Orleans delegate of the Miami-based organization, is a dapper, moustachioed man who had served in Batista's diplomatic corps. There are numerous witnesses who attest that he was a confidant of Banister and Ferrie, and that his office was a way station for the mixed bag of Cuban exiles and American adventurers involved in the "liberation" movement. Late in 1962, the Front closed up shop, at which time Arcacha became a founder of the Crusade to Free Cuba, a paramilitary group of militant right wingers. In March 1963, he moved to Houston, Texas. Early in his investigation, Garrison charged Arcacha with being a party to the munitions burglary with Novel and Ferrie, but by this time he was living in Dallas, where he refused to talk to the DA's men without Dallas police and assistant DA Bill Alexander present. When Garrison obtained an arrest warrant and sought to extradite him, Texas Governor John Connally would not sign the papers.

As for Oswald and 544 Camp Street, Garrison declares that "we have several witnesses who can testify they observed Oswald there on a number of occasions." One witness is David L. Lewis, another in Banister's stable of investigators. In late 1962, Lewis says, he was drinking coffee in the restaurant next to 544 Camp Street when Cuban exile Carlos Quiroga, who was close to Arcacha, came in with a young man he introduced as Leon Oswald. A few days later, Lewis saw Quiroga, Oswald and Ferrie together at 544 Camp Street. A few days after that, he barged into Banister's office and interrupted a meeting between Banister, Quiroga, Ferrie and Leon Oswald. It was not until he was interviewed by Garrison that Lewis concluded that Leon Oswald was probably Lee Harvey Oswald. Noting that the "natural deaths of Banister and Ferrie were strikingly similar," Lewis has slipped into seclusion.

[CIA: THE COMMON DENOMINATOR]

ON OR ABOUT THE NIGHT of September 16, 1963, a nondescript Leon Oswald, the brilliant, erratic David Ferrie, and a courtly executive-type man named Clem Bertrand discussed a guerrilla ambush of President Kennedy in Ferrie's apartment. There was talk of "triangulation of fire . . . the availability of exit . . . one man had to be sacrificed to give the other one or two gunmen time to escape." Escape out of the country would be by a plane flown by Ferrie. This was the nub of the testimony of Perry Raymond Russo at a preliminary hearing for Clay Shaw, accused by Garrison of conspiracy in the assassination. Russo identified Leon Oswald as Lee Harvey Oswald, and Clem Bertrand as Clay Shaw.

HOW RELIABLE?

What would bring three such widely disparate men together in the first place? One possible answer: the CIA. OR COMMIES

On the fringe of downtown New Orleans, the building at 544 Camp Street is across the street from the government building which in 1963 housed the local CIA headquarters. One block away, at 640 Magazine Street, is the William B. Reily Co., a coffee firm where Oswald was employed that pivotal summer. He worked from May 10 to July 19, earning a total of $548.41 (Commission Exhibits 1154). Despite this, he did not seem hard put to support Marina and their child. Nor did he seem particularly concerned about being fired: The personnel manager of the Reily Co. told the Secret Service that "there would be times when Oswald would be gone for periods of an hour or longer and when questioned he could not furnish a plausible explanation as to where he had been . . ." (CE 1154).

Next door is the Crescent City Garage, whose owner, Adrian T. Alba, testified that Oswald spent hours on end in his waiting room buried in gun magazines (Warren Report, Vol. 10, p. 226). Shortly before leaving the coffee firm, Oswald mentioned to Alba that his employment application was about to be accepted "out there where the gold is"—the NASA Saturn missile plant at Gentilly, a suburb (Vol. 10, p. 226).

On the face of it, the idea that Oswald could get a job at a space agency installation requiring security clearance seems preposterous. He was a self-avowed Marxist who had tried to renounce his American citizenship in Moscow, married the niece of a Soviet KGB colonel, openly engaged in "Fair Play For Cuba" activity, and attempted to join the Communist Party, U.S.A. But Garrison points out that it is an open secret that the CIA uses the NASA facility as a cover for clandestine operations. And it is his contention that Oswald was a "witting" agent of the CIA.

There is a surfeit of indications of Oswald's status. One is the story of Donald P. Norton, who claims he was impressed into the Agency's service in 1957 under threat of exposure as a homosexual. In September 1962, Norton related, he was dispatched from Atlanta to Mexico with $50,000 for an anti-Castro group. He had no sooner registered in the Yamajel Hotel in Monterrey, Mexico, per instructions, than he was contacted by one Harvey Lee, a dead ringer for Oswald except that his hair seemed slightly thicker. In exchange for the money, Lee gave him a briefcase containing documents in manila envelopes. According to plan, Norton delivered the briefcase to an employee of an American oil firm in Calgary, Alberta, who repeated the pass phrase, "The weather is very warm in Tulsa."

Norton also contends he met David Ferrie earlier in his CIA career. In early 1958, he was tapped for a courier trip to Cuba and told to meet his contact at the Eastern Air Lines counter at the Atlanta airport. The contact was a singular-appearing man who called himself Hugh Pharris or Ferris; Norton now states it was Ferrie. "Here are your samples," Ferrie remarked, handing Norton a phonograph record. "It is in the jacket." "It" was $150,000, which Norton duly delivered to a Cuban television performer in Havana. Norton asserts he went to Freeport, Grand Bahamas, on an Agency assignment late in 1966, and upon his return to Miami his contact instructed that "something was happening in New Orleans, and that I [Norton] should take a long, quiet vacation."

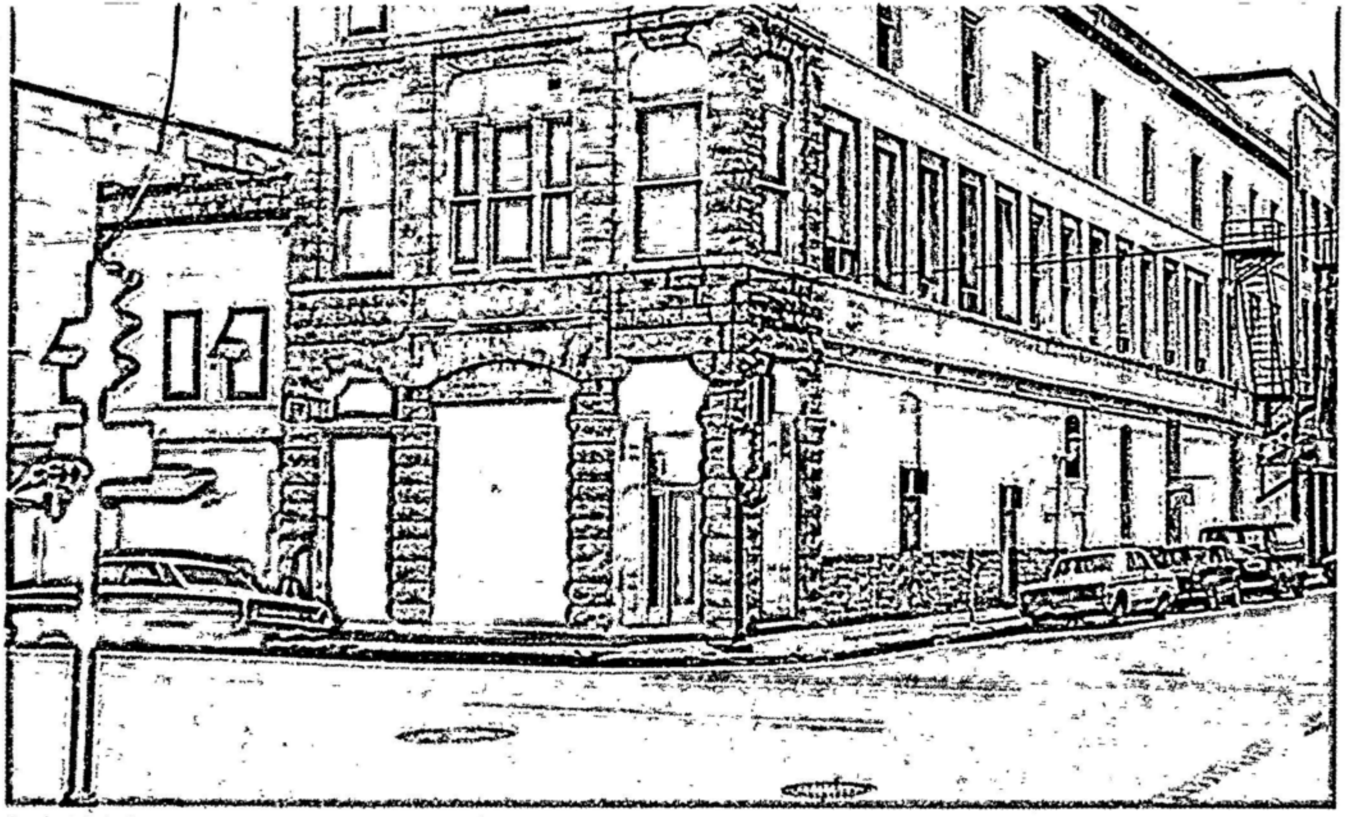
He did, and started to fret about the "people who have died in recent months —like Ferrie." Then he decided to contact Garrison. Norton was given a lie detector test, and there were no indications of deception.

Garrison believes that Oswald was schooled in covert operations by the CIA while in the Marine Corps at the Atsugi Naval Station in Japan, a U-2 facility (interestingly, two possibly relevant documents, "Oswald's access to information about the U-2" [CD 931] and "Reproduction of CIA official dossier on Oswald" [CD 692] are still classified in the National Archives). Curiously, the miscast Marine who was constantly in hot water had a Crypto clearance on top of a Top Secret clearance, and was given two electronics courses. "Isn't it odd," prods Garrison, "that even though he supposedly defected to the Soviet Union with Top Secret data on our radar nets, no action was taken against him when he came back to the United States?"

Equally odd is Oswald's acquisition of Russian language ability. Although the Warren Report spread the fiction that he was self-taught, and Oswald himself falsely told a New Orleans acquaintance that he had studied Russian at Tulane University, the likelihood is that he was tutored at the CIA's Atsugi station. Marine Corps records reflect that on February 25, 1959, at the conclusion of his Atsugi tour of duty, he was given a Russian language proficiency test (Folsom Exhibit No. 1, p. 7). A former Marine comrade, Kerry Thornley, deposed to Garrison that Oswald conversed in Russian with John Rene Heindel every morning at muster.

Oswald's "defection" to the Soviet Union also smacks of being CIA-initiated. In retrospect, the clearance of U.S. departure and reentry formalities seems unduly expeditious. When the Marine Corps *post facto* downgraded his discharge to less than honorable, Oswald indignantly wrote Secretary of the Navy John B. Connally, "I have and allways [sic] had the full sanction of the U.S. Embassy, Moscow USSR and hence the U.S. government" (Warren Report, p. 710). When an interviewer on a New Orleans radio station asked him on August 21, 1963, if he had had a government subsidy during his three years in Russia, the normally articulate Oswald stammered badly: "Well, as I er, well, I will answer that question directly then as you will not rest until you get your answer er, I worked in Russia, er, I was er under the protection er, of the er, that is to say I was not under protection of the American government but I was at all times er, considered an American citizen . . ." (This is the original version as disseminated by the Associated Press. The version released by the Warren Commission has been edited to delete the hemming and hawing and the apparent slip of the tongue, "I *was* under the protection. . ." [Vol. 21, p. 639].)

Possibly the most cogent suggestion of Oswald's mission in the Soviet Union can be found in the testimony of Dennis H. Ofstein, a fellow-employee at Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall Co. in Dallas (this is the photographic/graphic arts firm where Oswald worked upon his return from Russia; it receives many classified government contracts). Ofstein's smattering of Russian evidently set the usually phlegmatic Oswald to talking. "All the time I was in Minsk I never saw a vapor trail," Ofstein quotes him. "He also mentioned about the disbursement [dispersement?] of military units," Ofstein continued, "saying they didn't intermingle their armored divisions and infantry divisions and various units the way we do in the United States, and they would have all of their aircraft in one geographical location and their tanks in another geographical location, and their infantry in another . . ." On one occasion, Oswald asked Ofstein to enlarge a photograph taken in Russia which, he explained, represented "some military headquarters and that the guards stationed there were armed with weapons and ammunition and had orders to shoot any trespassers . . ." (Vol. 10, p. 202). Oswald's inordinate interest in the contrails of high flying aircraft, Soviet military deployment and a military facility involving an element of risk to photograph



On the left is the entrance to 544 Camp St. On the right, 531 Lafayette Pl.

The Reily Bldg. (See map opposite)

hardly seems the natural curiosity of a hapless ex-Marine private.

An intriguing entry in Oswald's address book is the word "microdots" appearing on the page on which he has notated the address and phone number of Jaggers-Chiles-Stovall (CE 18, p. 45). Microdots are a clandestine means of communication developed by German intelligence during World War II and still in general use among espionage agencies. The technique is to photograph the document to be transmitted and vastly reduce the negative to a size that will fit inside a period. The microdot can be inserted in an innocuous letter or magazine and mailed, or left in a "dead drop"—a prearranged location for the deposit and pickup of messages.

Thus it may be significant that Oswald obtained library cards in Dallas and New Orleans, and usually visited the libraries on Thursday. The possible implication of his visits was not overlooked by the FBI, which confiscated every book he ever charged out, and never returned them. A piece that may fit into the puzzle is the discovery by Garrison of an adult borrower's card issued by the New Orleans public library in the name Clem Bertrand. The business address shown is the International Trade Mart [Shaw's former place of employment], and the home address 3100 Louisiana Avenue Parkway, a wrong number, but conspicuously close to that of David Ferrie at 3330 Louisiana Avenue Parkway. There may be a pattern here, since Oswald supposedly carried a card issued to Ferrie when arrested in Dallas.

Still another hint of Oswald's intelligence status is the inventory of his property seized by Dallas police after the assassination. Included is such sophisticated optical equipment as a Sterio Realist camera, a Hanza camera timer, filters, a small German camera, a Wollensak 15 power telescope, Micron 6X binoculars and a variety of film—hardly the usual accouterments of a lowly warehouseman (Stovall Exhibits).

Upon his return from Russia, the man who subscribed to Pravda in the Marine Corps and lectured his fellow Marines on Marxist dialectics set about institutionalizing his leftist facade. He wrote ingratiating letters to the national headquarters of the Communist Party, Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Socialist Workers Party (a copy of the famous snapshot of Oswald with a revolver on his hip, a rifle in one hand and the Party organ, the Militant, in the other was mailed to the SWP office in New York in April 1963). Garrison believes the facade was intended to facilitate his entry into communist countries for special missions.

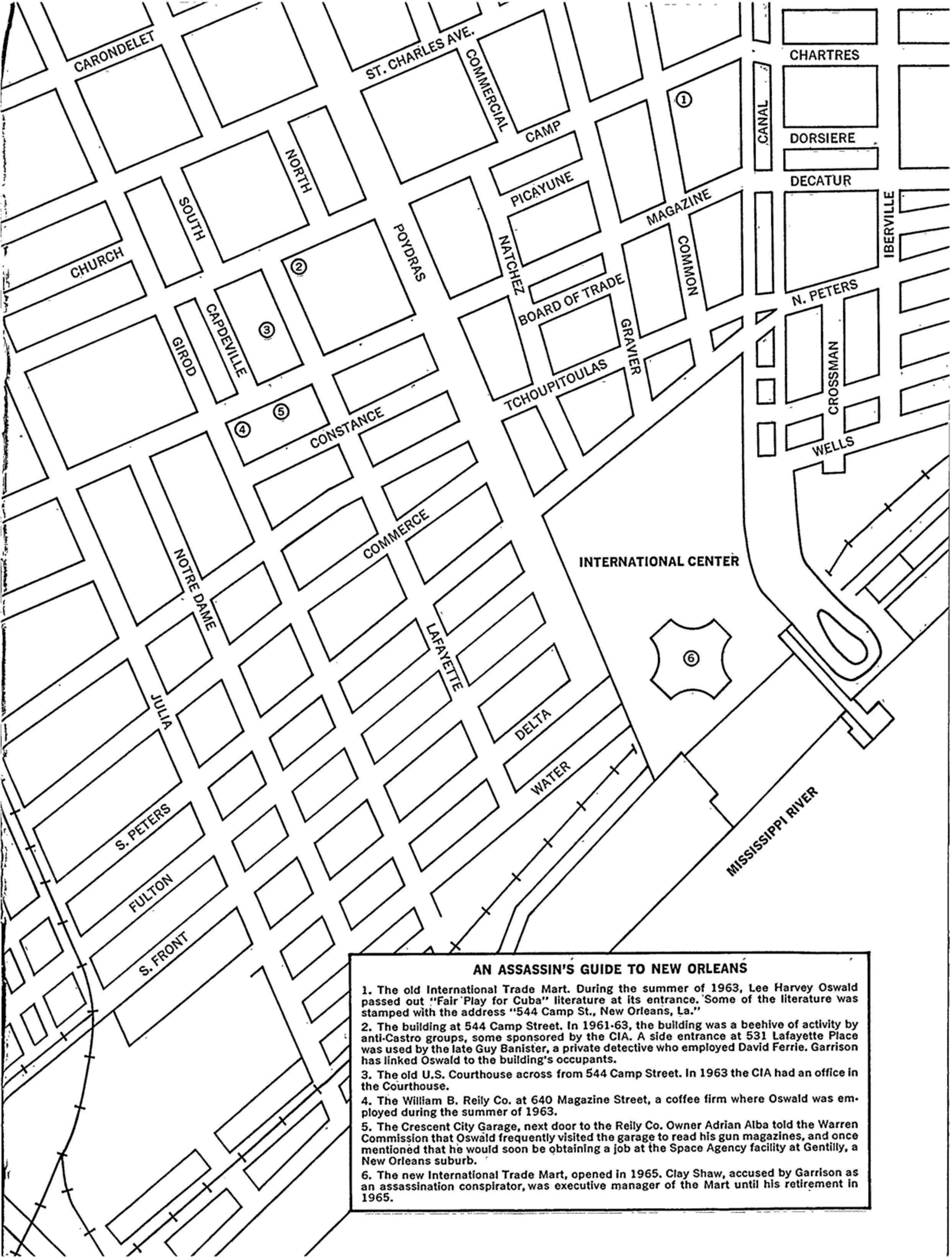
Ferrie's involvement with the CIA seems to stem mainly from his anti-Castro paramilitary activity, although there is a suggestion that he was at one time a pilot for the Agency. In the late 1940s and early 1950s he flew light planes commercially in the Cleveland, Ohio area, and was rated by his colleagues as an outstanding pilot. In the middle 1950s there is an untraceable gap in his career. Then he turns up as an Eastern Air Lines pilot. Although he supposedly obtained an instrument rating at the Sunnyside Flying School in Tampa, Florida, there is no record that any such school ever existed.

A clue to Ferrie's activities may lie in the loss of hair he suffered. A fellow employee at Eastern recalls that when Ferrie first joined the line he was "handsome and friendly," but in the end became "moody and paranoiac—afraid the communists were out to get him." The personality change coincided with a gradual loss of hair. First a bald spot appeared, which Ferrie explained was caused by acid dripping from a plane battery. Then the hair began falling out

HA! OLD HAT!

Photographs by William W. Turner

Map by John Williams


CARONDELET
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IBERVILLE
CHURCH
BOARD OF TRADE
N. PETERS
CAPDEVILLE
GIROD
GRAVIER
CROSSMAN
TCHOUPITOULAS
CONSTANCE
WELLS
COMMERCE
INTERNATIONAL CENTER
NOTRE DAME
LAFAYETTE
JULIA
DELTA
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AN ASSASSIN'S GUIDE TO NEW ORLEANS

1. The old International Trade Mart. During the summer of 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald passed out "Fair Play for Cuba" literature at its entrance. Some of the literature was stamped with the address "544 Camp St., New Orleans, La."

2. The building at 544 Camp Street. In 1961-63, the building was a beehive of activity by anti-Castro groups, some sponsored by the CIA. A side entrance at 531 Lafayette Place was used by the late Guy Banister, a private detective who employed David Ferrie. Garrison has linked Oswald to the building's occupants.

3. The old U.S. Courthouse across from 544 Camp Street. In 1963 the CIA had an office in the Courthouse.

4. The William B. Reily Co. at 640 Magazine Street, a coffee firm where Oswald was employed during the summer of 1963.

5. The Crescent City Garage, next door to the Reily Co. Owner Adrian Alba told the Warren Commission that Oswald frequently visited the garage to read his gun magazines, and once mentioned that he would soon be obtaining a job at the Space Agency facility at Gentilly, a New Orleans suburb.

6. The new International Trade Mart, opened in 1965. Clay Shaw, accused by Garrison as an assassination conspirator, was executive manager of the Mart until his retirement in 1965.

in clumps—Ferrie desperately studied medicine to try to halt the process—until his body was entirely devoid of hair. One speculation is that he was moonlighting and suffered a physiological reaction to exposure to the extreme altitudes required for clandestine flights. Chinese Nationalist U-2 pilots reportedly have suffered the same hair-loss phenomenon.

One of Ferrie's covert tasks in the New Orleans area was to drill small teams in guerrilla warfare. One of his young proteges has revealed that he trained some of his Civil Air Patrol cadets and Cubans and formed them into five-man small weapons units, this under the auspices of the Marine Corps and State Department. Coupled with this is the information from another former protege that Ferrie confided "he was working for the CIA rescuing Cubans out of Castro prisons," and on one occasion was called to Miami so that the CIA could "test him to see if he was the type of person who told his business to anybody." In a speech before the Military Order of World Wars in New Orleans in late 1961, Ferrie related that he had trained pilots in Guatemala for the Bay of Pigs, and professed bitter disappointment that they were not used.

Clay Shaw, an international trade official with top-level contacts in Latin America and Europe, would have been a natural target for CIA recruitment. Gordon Novel, who was acquainted with Shaw, was quoted by the States-Item as venturing that Shaw may have been asked by the CIA to observe the traffic of foreign commerce through New Orleans. More persuasive is Shaw's membership on the board of directors of a firm called *Centro Mondiale Commerciale* in Rome. According to the newspapers Paese Sera of Rome and Le Devoir of Montreal, among others of the foreign press, CMC was an obscure but well-financed firm that was ousted from Italy by the police because it was suspected of being a CIA front. It transplanted its operation to the more friendly climate of Johannesburg, South Africa, where it still functions.

The same group that incorporated CMC also set up a firm called Permidex Corporation in Switzerland, but that company was dissolved by the Swiss government when it was proved to be a conduit for funds destined for the Secret Army Organization (OAS), a group of right-wing French officers dedicated to "keeping Algeria French" by force of arms. The composition of the CMC group with which Shaw was associated is of more than cursory interest, since it includes a former U.S. intelligence officer, now an executive of the Bank of Montreal; the publisher of the neo-Nazi National-Zeitung of Germany; Prince Guitere de Spadaforo, an Italian industrialist related by marriage to Hitler finance minister Hjalmar Schacht; and the lawyer to the Italian royal family and secretary of the Italian neo-Fascist Party. Through his attorney, Shaw has stated he joined the CMC board of directors in 1958 at the insistence of his own board of directors of the International Trade Mart of New Orleans.

ON AUGUST 1, 1963, the front page of the States-Item carried two news stories which, Garrison asserts, symbolize the bitter end of the paramilitary right's tolerance of John F. Kennedy. "A Treaty Signing Set On Monday" was the lead to one story, disclosing that the test ban treaty was about to become reality and that a NATO-Warsaw bloc nonaggression pact was in the wind. "Explosives Cache Home Lent to Cuban, Says Owner's Wife," announced the lead to another story, telling of an FBI raid on a military training site and arms cache on the north side of Lake Pontchartrain. Agents had seized more than a ton of dynamite, 20 100-pound bomb casings, fuses, napalm ingredients and other war materiel.

The whipsaw developments—Kennedy's patent determination to effect a rapprochement with the communist nations on the one hand, his crackdown under the Neutrality Act on anti-Castro paramilitary groups on the other—triggered a rage against the President that would find vent in his assassination.

The true nature of the group raided at Lake Pontchartrain was not evident from the story. The FBI announced no arrests, and the wife of the property owner, Mrs. William J. McLaney, gave out the cover story that the premises had been loaned to a newly-arrived Cuban named Jose Juarez as a favor to friends in Cuba. (McLaney had been well-known as a gambler associated with the Tropicana Hotel in Havana before being ousted by Castro in 1960.)

According to information leaked to Garrison by another government agency, the FBI had in fact arrested 11 men, then quietly released them. Among those in the net was Acelo Pedro Amores, believed to be a former Batista official who slipped out of Cuba in 1960. Also caught was Richard Lauchli Jr, one of the founders of the Minutemen. Lauchli, who possessed a federal license to manufacture weapons in his Collinsville, Illinois machine shop, was arrested again in 1964 when Treasury investigators, posing as agents of a South American country, trapped him in a deal to sell a huge quantity of illicit automatic arms. The others arrested were American adventurers and Cuban exiles.

Garrison believes that the assassination team at Dealey Plaza included renegade Minutemen operating without the knowledge of the group's central headquarters. Free-lance terrorism has plagued Minutemen national coordinator Robert DePugh since the organization's inception, and there have been several abortive assassination schemes hatched by individual cliques.

For example, in 1962, a Dallas extremist using the pseudonym John Morris was given money by a Minutemen clique at the Liberty Mall in Kansas City to subsidize the sniper slaying of Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas. The plan called for Morris to escape in a plane flown by a Texas man, but DePugh got wind of it and aborted it. And a Cuban exile close to Guy Banister has told Garrison that in 1962 Minuteman Banister seriously discussed "putting poison in the air conditioning ducts in the Havana Palace and killing all occupants."

The latest plot to surface was formulated in Dallas in September 1966; its target was Stanley Marcus of the Neiman-Marcus department store, a pro-United Nations liberal who somehow has managed to thrive in rigidly conservative Dallas. According to an informant who was present, several Minutemen decided to ambush Marcus outside of Dallas, because "another assassination in Dallas would be too much." Again, there was a leak and the plan fell through. However, as the Warren Report might phrase it, such schemes "establish the propensity to kill" on the part of the radical right.

"Minutemen" has become an almost generic term for the paramilitary right, a far from homogenous movement. Some elements are driven primarily by

NO MENTION OF
LEFTIST TERRORISM..!
AS USUAL!

race hatred and anti-Semitism, others by perfervid anti-communism, still others by a personal interest in overthrowing Castro and regaining property or sinecures in the Cuban bureaucracy. There is considerable cross-pollination, especially in the South. A graphic example can be found in rural St. Bernard Parish, near New Orleans. A state police undercover investigator relates that inside a farmhouse which serves as a Ku Klux Klan regional headquarters are Nazi emblems and a shrine to Horst Wessel, and in back, behind a copse of trees, a rifle range and large cache of guns belonging to Minutemen.

There is intense factionalism inside the paramilitary right, and in recent years a power struggle for hegemony over the movement raged between DePugh of the Minutemen and the late George Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazis. In a recent public statement DePugh commented that "fascism is the number one danger in this country today," and that the "fascists" are using anti-communism as a smokescreen to cover their own rush for power. I had occasion to talk to DePugh, and suggested to him that the guerrilla team that bushwhacked the President included Minutemen who had drifted into the Nazi orbit. "I'm inclined to agree," he said.

One of the most inexplicable entries in Oswald's address book is "Nat. Sec. Dan Burros, Lincoln Rockwell, Arlington, Virginia" (CE 18, p. 55). Other right-wing figures in the address book are Carlos Bringuier of the Cuban Student Directorate in New Orleans and retired General Edwin Walker of Dallas. Bringuier told the Commission that Oswald had approached him and offered to train Cuban exiles in Marine tactics, but he suspected Oswald was a plant.

An anti-Castro adventurer who trained in the Florida Keys prior to the assassination claims that by November 22, 1963, there was not one but several paramilitary teams gunning for Kennedy. They had been in contact, he said, with "wealthy backers who wanted to see Kennedy dead and had been given money to do the job."

[THE MAKING OF A PATSY]

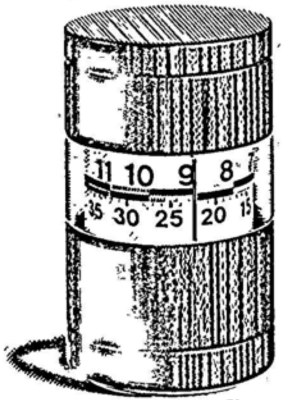
ON JANUARY 20, 1961, TWO MEN approached Oscar W. Deslatte, assistant manager of the Bolton Ford Truck Center in New Orleans, *and identified themselves as members of the Friends of Democratic Cuba.* To help their cause, they wanted to purchase ten trucks at cost. Deslatte filled out a bid form, recording their names as Joseph Moore and Oswald. The young man calling himself Oswald said that if the trucks were purchased he would be the one to pay for them. This is the gist of an incident recorded by the FBI immediately after the assassination and dug out of the obscurity of the Archives by Garrison researcher Tom Bethell (CD 1542).

Garrison has located the former Bolton Ford manager who was present at the time, Fred A. Sewell. He recalled that the younger "skinny" man gave the full name *Lee* Oswald, and that "Joseph Moore" actually was a Cuban who gave a Cuban name on the bid form. What is puzzling about the incident is that Lee Harvey Oswald was in Minsk, Russia in 1961, thus raising the question of who was impersonating him and why.

Any answer must necessarily be conjecture, but it may be significant to recall that Lee Harvey Oswald spent four days in New Orleans in September 1959 before departing on the first leg of his journey to the Soviet Union aboard the SS Marion Lykes (CE 1963). Garrison has picked up indications that Oswald's decision to embark via ship *from New Orleans* was dictated by intelligence considerations. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that during the four-day period in the city he was inducted into a CIA group, an anti-Castro member of which would later use Oswald's name.

The genesis of the Friends of Democratic Cuba is not inconsistent with this theory. One of the incorporators of the organization was Guy Banister, the Minutemen/CIA type. Another was William Wayne Dalzell who knew Ferrie and Arcacha, and was still another in the Banister coterie of sleuths. To a States-Item reporter he admitted he was CIA.

The Friends of Democratic Cuba was founded January 9, 1961; less than two weeks before the Bolton Ford incident. It was intended as a kind of American auxiliary to Arcacha's all-Cuban Revolutionary Front, and Arcacha was instrumental in its creation. Government advisors to the Friends, says an informant who was closely involved with the group, were a CIA man named Logan and the FBI's Regis Kennedy, who invoked executive privilege when questioned not long ago by the New Orleans grand jury looking into the assassina-



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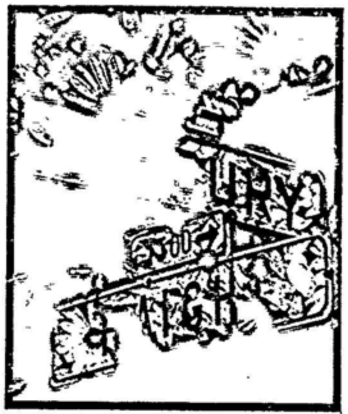

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tion. The Friends were short-lived, and the Front slowly dissolved after the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion. The die-hard remnants of these moribund groups formed the Free Cuba movement.

The Secret Service stumbled upon the Free Cuba group in its hectic post-assassination inquiries at 544 Camp Street, but apparently the T-men were completely sold on Oswald's left-wing orientation and never thought to connect him with a right-wing outfit. Learning that "Cuban revolutionaries" had occupied space at that address, Secret Service men talked to a Cuban exile accountant who said that "those Cubans were members of organizations known as 'Crusade to Free Cuba Committee' and 'Cuban Revolutionary Council.' " Arcacha, the accountant related, was authorized to sign checks on both accounts (CE 3119). He said that Arcacha continued with the Free Cuba group even after he had been ousted from the CRC (CE 1414). There is no record that the Secret Service questioned Arcacha about Oswald.

It was a grievous omission, for it is now manifest that Oswald was intimately involved with the Free Cuba group. One indication is implicit in the testimony of Mrs. Sylvia Odio, an aristocratic Cuban refugee. When Lee Harvey Oswald's picture was flashed on television after the assassination, she fainted. She explained to the Warren Commission that in late September 1963, three men appeared unannounced at her Dallas apartment seeking assistance for the anti-Castro movement. The spokesman gave a "war name" that sounded like Leopoldo; a second man was introduced as something like Angelo. The third man was introduced as Leon Oswald, and Mrs. Odio was certain he was the accused assassin.

Unsure of the trio's true allegiance, Mrs. Odio was noncommittal. They left, after commenting that they had just arrived from New Orleans and were leaving shortly "on a trip." The next morning Leopoldo telephoned Mrs. Odio with a new sales pitch. "Leon" was an ex-Marine, he said. "He told us we don't have any guts, you Cubans, because President Kennedy should have been assassinated after the Bay of Pigs . . . It is easy to do. He has told us." When his listener became upset at talk of killing Kennedy, Leopoldo remarked that it would be just as easy to kill the Cuban Premier. Leon was an expert shot, he said, a man who "could do anything like getting underground in Cuba, like killing Castro" (Vol. 11, pp. 367-389).

Just before the Warren Report went to press, the FBI located three men possibly identical with Mrs. Odio's provocative visitors. Some three weeks after the visit, Loren Eugene Hall and William Seymour had been arrested by the Dallas police on a technical narcotics charge. Significantly, their arrest record bore the notation: "Active in the anti-Castro movement . . . Committee to Free Cuba." G-men traced them and a companion, Lawrence Howard Jr, to the west coast.

Hall admitted to the FBI that he, Howard and Seymour had been to see Mrs. Odio, whose apartment he correctly located on Magellan Circle, "to ask her assistance in the movement," presumably the Free Cuba movement. But Howard, although conceding he was with Hall in Dallas in late September, flatly denied being at Mrs. Odio's. Seymour alibied that he was working in Miami Beach at the time; the FBI verified that pay records of a Miami Beach firm showed him at work from September 5 through October 10.

In a second session with the FBI, Hall recanted his admission and claimed he had been mistaken, a turnabout that did not seem to be viewed too skeptically by the G-men. The Bureau closed its inquiry by observing that Seymour bore a striking resemblence to Oswald, a meaningless footnote considering that the pay records had been accepted as *prima facie* evidence that he was in Miami Beach at the relevant time.

With Seymour "out of the way," the Warren Commission had only to dispose of the possibility that it *was* Oswald at Mrs. Odio's. It did so by declaring it improbable that Oswald could have traveled to Dallas in the limited time between his departure from New Orleans and his crossing of the Mexican border. But the Commission reckoned from surface transportation timetables, and there is a suggestion he flew at least part of the way. Mrs. Horace Twiford of Houston stated that in late September, when Oswald telephoned her husband, he commented that he "had only a few hours" before "flying to Mexico" (CE 2335).

The post-assassination search at the Irving premises of Ruth and Michael Paine, with whom Marina had been staying, yielded another tie to the Free Cuba movement. Among Oswald's belongings in the garage was a barrel that had, said Deputy Buddy Walthers, "a lot of these little leaflets in it, 'Freedom for Cuba' " (Vol. 7, p. 548). And at his celebrated press conference the night of the assassination, DA Henry Wade let it slip that "Oswald is a member of the Free Cuba Committee." He was immediately "corrected" by Jack Ruby who had mingled with the press: "No, he is a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee."

Deputy Walthers added a final link. In a "Supplementary Investigative Report" dated November 23, 1963, he stated that he had advised Dallas Secret Service Chief Forrest Sorrels that "for the past few months at a house at 3128 Harlendale some Cubans had been having meetings on the week ends and were possably [sic] connected with the 'Freedom For Cuba Party' of which Oswald was a member." Three days later, when the Secret Service had evinced no interest, he wrote a wistful addendum: "I learned today that sometime between seven days before the President was shot and the day after he was shot these Cubans moved from this house. My informant stated that subject Oswald had been to this house before" (Decker Exhibit No. 5323).

Why Oswald's anti-Castro comrades decided to make him the patsy is open to conjecture. Perhaps he balked at going through with the assassination. Perhaps they did not trust him and suspected he was an infiltrator. The most likely explanation is a pragmatic one: they needed a patsy and he was the ideal candidate. To make the assassination look like the work of an avowed Marxist and Castro sympathizer would have been a propaganda *tour de force*. "Even so," offers Garrison, "I think the big money backers of the plot were a little disappointed. Oswald was supposed to be killed trying to escape, and if those Cuban and Soviet visas he applied for but didn't get could have been found on his body, public opinion against Russia and Cuba would have been incited to a dangerous pitch."

In the weeks preceding the assassination, there are a number of instances of an Oswald double in Dallas who probably was instrumental in "setting him up." Gunsmith Dial D. Ryder told the Commission that in early November, someone giving the name Oswald

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brought in a rifle to have a telescopic sight mounted; he produced a repair tag in that name as confirmation (Report, p. 315). Garland G. Slack and other target shooters patronizing the Sports Drome Rifle Range reported that a man resembling Oswald had practiced there as late as November; the man made himself obvious, at one time incurring Slack's displeasure by firing on his target (Report, pp. 318-319).

An incident at Downtown Lincoln-Mercury is highly revealing. Immediately after the assassination, salesman Albert Guy Bogard reported to the FBI that a man giving the name Lee Oswald, who closely resembled the accused assassin, came into the showroom on November 9. Remarking that in several weeks he would have the money to make the purchase, he test-drove an expensive model on the Stemmons Freeway at 60 to 70 miles an hour. Both Bogard and another salesman, Oren Brown, wrote down the name Oswald so that they would remember him if he called back. A third salesman, Eugene M. Wilson, recalled that when the man purporting to be Oswald was told he would need a credit rating, he snapped, "Maybe I'm going to have to go back to Russia to buy a car" (Report, p. 320).

Given a lie detector test by the FBI, Bogard's responses were those "normally expected of a person telling the truth." Nevertheless, the Warren Commission dismissed the incident by noting that Oswald supposedly could not operate an automobile and that on November 9 he allegedly spent the day drafting a lengthy letter to the Soviet Embassy. It evidently never considered the possibility someone might be impersonating Oswald. But Bogard will never identify the impersonator. He stuck to his story in news interviews, and subsequently was beaten to within an inch of his life by an unknown assailant and arrested by the Dallas police on seemingly trumped-up bad check charges. He retreated to his native Louisiana, where on St. Valentine's Day 1966, he was found dead of exhaust fumes in his automobile.

The main ingredients of the patsy theory are wrapped up in a story that has gradually filtered out of Leavenworth Penitentiary. The story is that of inmate Richard Case Nagell, and paradoxically, the most cogent confirmation for it is the manner in which he wound up sentenced to ten years in federal custody.

Nagell was a highly decorated infantry captain in the Korean War who, he claims, subsequently became a CIA agent. It is a matter of record that in 1957 he was seriously injured in a plane crash in Cambodia, which tends to support his contention, since Cambodia was not exactly a tourist playground. On September 20, 1963, Nagell walked into a bank in El Paso, Texas, fired a gun into the ceiling, and then sat outside waiting to be arrested. He says he staged the affair because he wanted to be in custody as an alibi when the assassination took place. It was a desperate measure, he admits. But he had sent a registered letter to J. Edgar Hoover warning him of the impending assassination, which he says was then scheduled for the latter part of September (probably the 26th in Washington, D.C.), and the letter had gone unanswered.

There is an incredibly brief FBI interview report stating, in part, that on December 19, 1963, Nagell advised, "For the record he would like to say that his association with OSWALD (meaning LEE HARVEY OSWALD) was purely social and that he had met him in Mexico City and in Texas" (CD 197). Another

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report states that when the prisoner was being led from court on January 24, 1964, he "made wild accusations to newspaper reporters, accusing the FBI of not attempting to prevent the assassination of President Kennedy . . ." (CD 404).

That the charges may not be so wild is indicated by the fact that the government threw the book at Nagell, a first offender who says he expected to be charged only with discharging a firearm on government-protected property. Since his sentencing, he has been shuttled between Leavenworth and the federal medical center (a euphemism for mental institution) at Springfield, Missouri. While the government has suggested in court that his airplane crash mentally affected Nagell, the fact remains that he was given intelligence training *after* the crash. What Nagell alleges is damning not only to the FBI, but to the CIA. In brief, he says that the motive for the assassination was Kennedy's move in the direction of a rapprochement with Castro, which was a rank betrayal in the eyes of anti-Castro elements. As he puts it, an anti-Castro group in New Orleans and Mexico City, code name Bravo Club, decided to give Kennedy a "Christmas present" to be delivered September 26, a date that was postponed. A party was required. Two members of Bravo Club approached Oswald while he was working at the Reily coffee firm in New Orleans in the summer of 1963, and appealed to his ego in setting him up as the patsy. When the "delivery" site was shifted to Dallas, Bravo Club enlisted the aid of a Dallas "subsidiary," Delta Club.

Meanwhile the CIA got wind of the plans and sent several agents into the field to ascertain whether they were "for real." Nagell says he was one of the agents dispatched. Within a short time, he claims, he was pulled in. It had been verified that the plans were authentic, that "*gusanos* [anti-Castroites] were making the watch tick," and that the sum of the plot was right-wing in nature. Nagell says that he was instructed to "arrow" the patsy, that is kill him, *after* the assassination. At this point, he contends, he got cold feet and bailed out. "I would rather be arrested than commit murder and treason," he declared in a self-prepared petition for *habeas corpus*.

In the petition, Nagell asserts that he used the pseudonyms Robert Nolan and Joseph Kramer in the U.S. and three foreign countries under the authorization of the Defense Intelligence Agency. He states that the files of the FBI and the CIA contain information that Oswald was using the aliases Albert Hidel and Aleksei Hidel. He charges that the FBI illegally seized from him evidence crucial to his defense, such as notebooks containing the names of certain CIA employees, photographs, two Mexican tourist cards (one in the name Joseph Kramer, the other in the name Albert Hidel), and receipts for registered mail, including the one for the letter sent Hoover warning of the assassination.

When Nagell complains he has been "salted away" because of what he knows, he just might be making the understatement of the year.

[THE ELIMINATION OF A PATSY]

"I DIDN'T KILL ANYBODY . . . I'm just a patsy," Oswald shouted to newsmen while in police custody. A marked patsy, contends Garrison—one who was not supposed to have lived long enough to utter his cry of innocence. But something had misfired, and Oswald fell not into the hands of his would-be executioners, but into the comparative safety of the Dallas jail. The denouement presented a crisis that the conspirators could solve only by pressing police buff Jack Ruby into service.

Although the Warren Commission concluded that Oswald ducked into his Oak Cliff rooming house to pick up the .38 revolver, later confiscated from him in the Texas Theater, it did not explain why, if he had gone to work at the School Book Depository that morning intending to kill the President and escape, he did not take the revolver with him. That he made a beeline to his rooming house for the sole purpose of getting the revolver speaks of a man who desperately wanted to protect himself from treacherous comrades rather than from the police. Notwithstanding the mild resistance he put up in his refuge in the Texas Theater, Oswald's demeanor in custody gave every indication that he would resolve the great riddle—given the time.

Oswald does not appear to be the only double-cross victim of that bloody afternoon: the evidence is persuasive that someone other than the accused assassin killed Officer J. D. Tippit, a friend of Jack Ruby, whose patrol area included the Harlandale Street section headquar-

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ters of the Free Cuba group. The Commission's star witness in fingering Oswald was Mrs. Helen Markham, a billing that precipitated strong dissent among some staff members, notably Wesley Liebeler who called her testimony "contradictory" and "worthless" (*Inquest*, p. 109). Although ballistics tests could not positively match the bullets in the dead officer's body with Oswald's revolver, they did determine that three bullets were of one manufacture, the fourth of another; while the four recovered shell casings were evenly divided between the two manufacturers. The Commission wriggled out of this dilemma by wildly speculating that five shots were fired, one completely missing (Report, p. 172).

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Moreover, the police radio logs describe a killer other than Oswald. Sergeant Gerald Hill alerted all cars that "Shells at the scene indicate the suspect is armed with an automatic .38 rather than a pistol" (presumably, Hill noted the distinctive marks made by the ejector of an automatic). In the same vein, Patrolman H. L. Summers announced, "He's apparently armed with a .32 dark finish automatic pistol. . . ." First flashes had the killer with "black wavy hair" and a "white shirt," certainly not a description of Oswald that day (Sawyer Exhibit No. A, pp. 396-397). And the best placed eyewitness, Domingo Benavides, described a killer quite different from Oswald: "I remember the back of his head seemed like his hairline sort of went square instead of tapered off—it kind of went down and squared off and made his head look flat in back."

Garrison posits that the real killer hid in a cavernous building at the corner of Tenth and Crawford which in 1963 was known as the Abundant Life Temple. In an aerial view of the area, the Commission traced the killer's escape path from the scene near Tenth and Patton to Jefferson Boulevard one block south, thence to the Texaco service station one block west at Jefferson and Crawford. A "white jacket" was found at the rear of the station, which the Commission said was Oswald's. Consequently, it had the killer reverse his path so as to bring him back onto Jefferson and proceeding in a westerly direction toward the theater (CE 1968).

Rejecting this arbitrary reconstruction, Garrison points out that the killer could have proceeded straight ahead from the rear of the Texaco station, across an alley and into the rear door of the Abundant Life Temple. This view is corroborated by police radio logs. Shortly after 1:40 p.m., Sergeant Hill came on the air: "A witness reports that he last was seen in the Abundant Life Temple about the 400 block. We are fixing to go in and shake it down." On an alternate channel, Car 95 ordered, "Send me another squad over here to Tenth and Crawford to check out this church basement."

At this point Car 223 burst in excitedly, "He's in the library on Jefferson east 500 block . . . I'm going around back, get somebody around the front, get them here fast." The dispatcher complied, and Car 19 soon affirmed, "We're all at the library." There was no suspect at the library, but the Abundant Life Temple had been spared a shakedown.

The grave problem, of course, was how to eliminate Oswald, who knew too much. This was where Jack Ruby came in. Although the Warren Commission pictured Ruby as a blustery night club operator with a soft spot in his heart for dogs and dames, who killed Oswald on an impulse of one-man justice, the real Ruby was no buffoon. The fiction that he executed Oswald out of compassion for the Kennedy family was conjured up by his first attorney, the late Tom Howard. "Joe, you should know this," Ruby scribbled to a succeeding attorney, Joe Tonahill. "Tom Howard told me to say that I shot Oswald so that Caroline and Mrs. Kennedy wouldn't have to come to Dallas to testify. OK?"

In a memorandum dealing with his background, Ruby specialists on the Commission compiled a list of persons seemingly "the most promising sources of contact between Ruby and politically motivated groups interested in securing the assassination of President Kennedy" (CE 2980). Included were Ruby's sister, Eva Grant, and a brother, Earl, of Detroit, who sent "a telegram of undisclosed nature to Havana, Cuba, April 1, 1962" and made "calls to Welsh [sic] Candy Company" in Belmont, Massachusetts, then owned by Birch Society founder Robert Welch. Also listed by the Commission was Thomas Hill, an "official of the John Birch Society" in Belmont whose name was in Jack Ruby's notebook, and Lamar Hunt, the son of H. L. Hunt, who subsequently denied knowing Ruby.

Ruby was an admirer of General Edwin A. Walker. He told former Oklahoma City police detective Cliff Roberts, who had been hired by Walker to investigate the potshot taken at Walker in April 1963, that Walker was "100 per cent right" about Castro's Cuba and it should be "blown out of the ocean." William McEwan Duff, who served as the retired general's "Batman" from

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late 1962 to early 1963, advised the Secret Service that Ruby, who was addressed only as "Jack," visited Walker "on the basis of about once a month, each time in the company of two unidentified white males" (CE 2389).

A cross-section of Ruby's acquaintances can be found in the list of 66 persons he favored with permanent passes to the Carousel Club. There is of course a passel of local businessmen. But there is also W. F. (Bill) Alexander, the hard-bitten Dallas assistant DA, and three men pegged by a Garrison investigator as Dallas Minutemen. Since no facet of the investigation seems complete without a strange coincidence, it can be noted that when Carousel Club passholder Sue Blake vacated her apartment, 10746D Lake Gardens, the next occupant was Sergio Arcacha Smith, formerly of 544 Camp Street, New Orleans.

Also on the pass list is H. H. (Andy) Anderson, at the time manager of the Adolphus Hotel. Last May, Garrison sought to explain the legal materiality of Clay Shaw's notebook in terms of an entry, "Lee Odom, PO Box 19106, Dallas, Tex." He pointed out that it corresponded to "PO 19106" in Oswald's address book, and theorized that it might be a coded version of Ruby's unlisted telephone number. Within a few days a Lee Odom came forth in Dallas to explain away the coincidence. In 1966, he was in New Orleans "trying to promote a bull fight" and asked the manager of the Roosevelt Hotel who might put him in contact with the right people. "He suggested Mr. Shaw," said Odom, "so I called him—or the manager called him . . . He came over to the hotel and we talked." The manager of the Roosevelt was Anderson, who had moved from Dallas. In subsequent versions of the story, including the one told to a national audience on CBS television, Odom left Anderson completely out of it and maintained he and Shaw had introduced themselves at a bar.

Ruby's affinity for Cuba is well-documented. The Warren Report advises that in January 1959, just after Castro took power, "Ruby made preliminary inquiries, as a middleman, concerning the possible sale to Cuba of some surplus jeeps located in Shreveport, La., and asked about the possible release of prisoners from a Cuban prison" (p. 369). Ruby had telephoned a Houston man named Robert Ray McKeown, known throughout Texas as a friend of Castro, offering a total of $15,000 to use his influence to obtain the release of three Americans held in Havana. The money, Ruby told McKeown, would come from a Las Vegas, Nevada source (CE 1689).

McKeown heard nothing more about the prisoner deal, which may be explained by the news report on January 6, 1961, that three Americans had made their way out of jail and back to the United States. But a few weeks after the telephone call, Ruby contacted McKeown in person, this time offering him $25,000 for a letter of introduction to Castro. According to McKeown, Ruby "had an option on a great number of jeeps which were in Shreveport, Louisiana, and he desired to sell them to Castro at a very profitable figure." McKeown agreed to arrange the introduction, but once again Ruby failed to follow through. The reason may have been that Maurice Brooks Gatlin of the New Orleans-based Anti-Communism League of the Caribbean scotched the deal. Minutemen defector Jerry Brooks discloses that the minute Gatlin found out that Ruby proposed to sell Castro 100 jeeps, he warned the venturesome night club owner to call it off. Gatlin may have detected signs that the new Cuban Premier was about to surface as a communist.

The Warren Report observes that during the period of the jeep negotiations, gambler Russell D. Matthews, described as a "passing acquaintance" of Ruby's, returned to Dallas from Havana, then several months later went back to the Cuban capital for a year. It also makes the correlation that Matthews' ex-wife in Shreveport received a lengthy telephone call from Ruby's Carousel Club on October 3, 1963. But with a denial from Matthews that he knew anything about the "jeep deal," and an inability on the part of Mrs. Matthews to remember the long distance call, the Commission ran out of curiosity. Matthews is no lightweight: in the heyday of the Dallas rackets a couple of decades ago he ran with a crowd whose luminary was Benny (Cowboy) Binion, who moved to Las Vegas and founded the Horseshoe Club.

The account given by Ruby of his trip to Cuba in September 1959 also strains credulity. "Ruby traveled to Havana as guest of a close friend and known gambler, Lewis J. McWillie," the Report declares (p. 370). "Both Ruby and McWillie state the trip was purely social." Ruby gulled the Commission with a story that he stuck close to the hotel, got bored stiff, and left within a week. But Thayer Waldo, an old Latin hand with sources inside Cuba, reports that Ruby boasted to at least two Americans that he was "in with both sides" while sitting in Castro's domain. Among the Cuban exiles he claimed to be close to was Rolando Masferrer, a former Batista official who had headed "The Tigers," a dreaded private army during the dictator's regime.

One of the many Dallas police officers who frequented the Carousel Club has told Garrison that in mid-1962 Ruby left on a two-week trip, saying he was going to New Orleans and then to Cuba "to pick up an act for the club." When he returned he was uncharacteristically tight-lipped about his trip—and without an act. Whether Ruby circumvented the travel ban and got to Cuba is a moot question. However, there remains Earl Ruby's unexplained telegram to Havana on April 1, 1962. And word that circulated through Cuban emigre circles in 1963 had Ruby visiting Havana via

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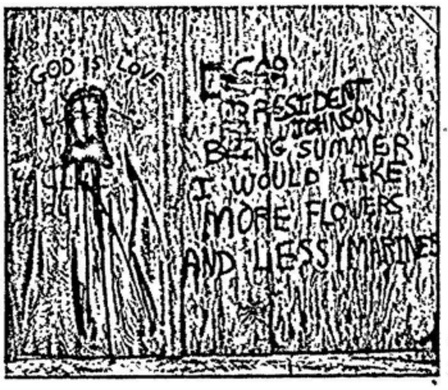
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Mexico City that year (e.g. CE 3055).

If Ruby did go to Cuba in 1962, it may have been on narcotics business. As long ago as 1956, a woman named Eileen Curry told the FBI that her paramour, James Breen, had become cozy with Ruby and had "accompanied RUBY to an unnamed location, where he had been shown moving pictures of various border guards, both Mexican and American." Curry said that Breen "was enthused over what he considered an extremely efficient operation in connection with narcotics traffic." Curry went to the FBI after Breen failed to return from a trip to Mexico, and repeated her story in 1963 after the assassination (CE 1761, 1762).

Texas editor Penn Jones Jr has delved into a story consistent with Eileen Curry's. On November 20, 1963, a woman named Rose Chermi was thrown from a moving automobile near Eunice, Louisiana. Hospitalized with injuries and narcotics symptoms, she said she was a Ruby employee traveling to Florida with two men to pick up a load of narcotics for Ruby. She told the attending physician that Kennedy and other officials were going to be killed on their impending visit to Dallas. Shown a news story after the assassination in which Ruby denied knowing Oswald, Miss Chermi chortled, "They were bed mates." When his probe got underway, Garrison attempted to locate her but was too late. On September 4, 1965, she was killed by a hit-and-run driver while walking along a highway near Big Sandy, Texas.

It is also possible that Ruby's alleged 1962 trip to Cuba concerned gun-running. Nancy Perrin Rich told the Commission that she and her late husband, who had ties to organized crime, attended a meeting in Dallas in 1962, in which plans were discussed to smuggle guns into Cuba and refugees out. The key planners were Ruby, an Army "light colonel," and a heavy-set "Cuban or Mexican," and she gathered that Ruby was the "bag man" who handled the funds. She said the guns were to be procured through a Mexican contact (Vol. 14, p. 330ff). Garrison has additional evidence of gun-running by Ruby which cannot be divulged at this time.

The allegations of narcotics trafficking and gun-running should be put in some perspective. In 1962, Cuba and Red China reportedly had entered into a barter agreement in which Cuban sugar would be exchanged for narcotics, but the narcotics were a white elephant until sold for U.S. dollars. This is where buck-hungry organized crime elements came in, and just possibly Jack Ruby. In this context his claim that he was playing both sides of the street may not have been sheer braggadocio. In the strange accommodations of international intrigue, Ruby may well have been smuggling narcotics into the United States and guns into the hands of Cuban insurgents.

It is fair to say that not much in the way of Caribbean intrigue went on in those days without the CIA, or at least CIA operatives, having a finger in it. Thus the allegations of Gary Underhill, a weapons expert and sometime CIA "unperson," may be quite plausible [RAMPARTS, June 1967]. Immediately after the assassination, a distraught Underhill told friends that a semi-autonomous CIA clique which had been profiteering in narcotics and gun-running was implicated in the assassination. Several months later, Underhill was found dead of a bullet wound in the head; although police decided it was self-inflicted, the circumstances indicated otherwise. When an old friend wrote to Underhill's widow asking about his demise, the reply came from an official of a now defunct Washington firm, Falcon Aeronautics, Inc., which smacks of having been an ad hoc CIA front. The official dismissed Underhill's allegations with the comment that they were "similar to those flights of his imagination which he had during the last year or so of his life."

The question remains whether or not newsmen in the police basement had flights of imagination when they thought they detected a flicker of recognition on Oswald's part just before Ruby shot him. We have already examined the report of attorney Carroll Jarnagin [RAMPARTS, November 1966]—who claims that he eavesdropped on a Ruby-Oswald conversation in the Carousel Club the night of October 4, 1963, in which the desire of organized crime to do away with Governor Connally was discussed—and the statement of Wilbryn "Bob" Litchfield that he sat next to Oswald in the Carousel Club office in early November while both were waiting to see Ruby [RAMPARTS, June 1967].

In addition, there is the cogent statement of Harvey L. Wade, a Chattanooga building inspector who dropped into the Carousel Club the night of November 10, 1963. Wade said that a club photographer snapped a shot of a customer and in the background were three men sitting at the bar. Ruby strode over to the photographer and "yelled that the photographs did not turn out." One of the men in the background was identified by Wade as Oswald. He described the others as a young man of "very fair pale complexion," and an older, stocky Latin man who had "numerous bumps on his face and was believed to have a one-inch scar in the eyebrow of his left eye" (CE 2370). The two match the descriptions of prime suspects in Garrison's investigation, the latter of the bull-necked Cuban who tagged around after Oswald in New Orleans in the summer of 1963.

Further indication of a Ruby-Oswald link appears in the statement of the Rev. Clyde Johnson which was filed by Garrison in answer to a Clay Shaw defense motion. Rev. Johnson, a candidate for governor of Louisiana in 1962, who ranted against Kennedy in his campaign, said that he twice attended meetings that fall at which Oswald, Ruby, Shaw and an unknown Cuban were present. The first was in the Roosevelt Hotel in New Orleans, the second on September 29 in the Capitol House Hotel in Baton Rouge. He recalled that Oswald was introduced as Leon, Ruby as Jack, and Shaw as Alton Bernard. On the latter occasion, he said, Shaw passed manila envelopes to Oswald and Ruby which purportedly contained money.

While such eyewitness accounts must be weighed with the credibility of the witness in mind, there is documentary evidence of a Ruby-Oswald link as well. Oswald's address book contains the entry "Midland 2550"; Ruby's has the entry "Newton 2550." While their significance is unknown—Garrison speculates they may be communications signals of some sort—the odds against the same four-digit numbers preceded by the names of Texas cities being in two unrelated persons' address books by sheer happenstance are astronomical. It was, in fact, just this kind of mathematical improbability that was instrumental in the recent convictions of a mugging team in Los Angeles County.

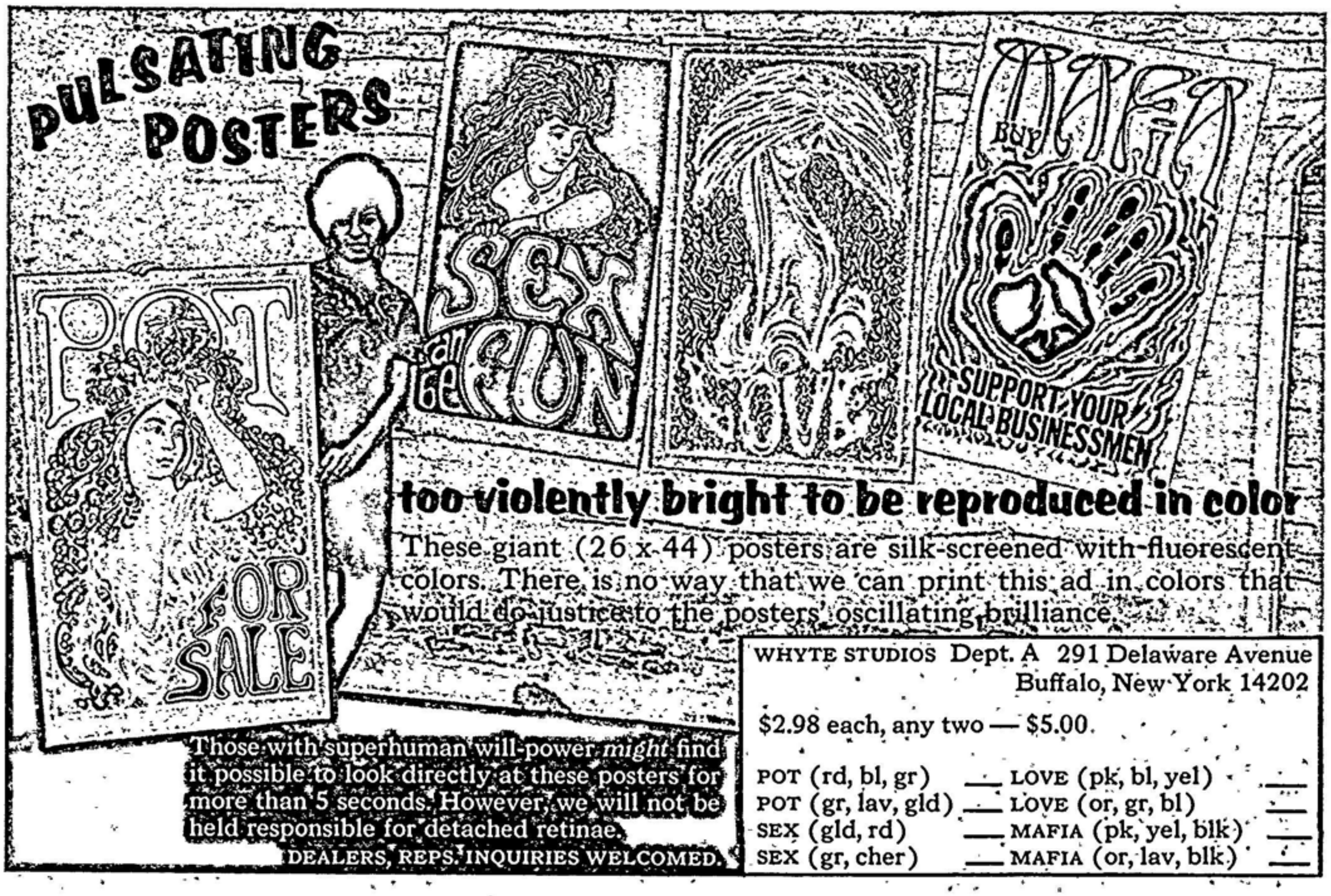
And there are other "coincidences" as well. In his address book, Oswald twice jotted down the number of a Ft. Worth television station, PE 8-1951; in June 1963, Ruby twice called that number (CE 1322, p. 517). On September 24, 1963, David Ferrie's telephone was charged with a call to Chicago number WH 4-4970; on November 20, 1963, this number was called from Kansas City by Lawrence Meyers, a Chicago businessman and close friend of Ruby's. Meyers arrived in Dallas from Kansas City that same night, and was in touch with Ruby through the traumatic post-assassination hours (Vol. 25, p. 335).

The Dallas number FR 5-5591 appears twice in the last pages of Oswald's book, which leads to another correlation. The number is listed to Kenneth Cody, a Continental Trailways bus driver on the Shreveport run and an uncle of Dallas police officer Joe Cody. A homicide bureau detective, Cody was the partner of Detective James R. Leavelle, one of the pair of officers escorting Oswald through the police basement when he was shot by Ruby.

In an FBI interview, Joseph Cody acknowledged having known Ruby "12 or 13 years." He met Ruby at one of his clubs during the Korean War, when Cody was "assigned in the Counter Intelligence Corps" and stationed for a time in Dallas. Cody related that he enjoyed ice skating at Fair Park, as did Ruby, and "there had been at least a half dozen times in the last two or three years that RUBY had arrived at Fair Park while he, CODY, had been skating" (CE 1736).

Garrison contends that Ruby's stagey behavior between the assassination and his slaying of Oswald was a way of dissociating himself from the plot by "reversing the magnetic field"—drawing attention to himself as the opposite of what he actually was. Andrew Armstrong, a Carousel employee, told the Commission that his boss was crying on the afternoon of the 22nd. In the early morning hours of Saturday, Ruby rousted a club flunkey, Larry Craford, who watched while his boss took a Polaroid picture of a Birch Society "Impeach Earl Warren" billboard. That afternoon, Ruby displayed the picture in Sol's Turf Club, his favorite haunt, with suitable expressions of indignation. He went to the post office with companions, peered at the box receiving responses to the black-bordered "Wanted for Treason" ad in Friday's Dallas Morning News, and uttered words of outrage.

Ruby's survival as a "little big shot" in Aryan Dallas depended upon his obsequiousness to powerful masters. Some of those whose boots he licked were Nazis, and subliminally he became one of them. As Garrison put it, "The connecting link at every level of operation, from the oil-rich sponsors of the assassination down to the Dallas police department, down through Jack Ruby and including anti-Castro adventurers, at the operating level were Minutemen,



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Nazi oriented. It was essentially a Nazi operation."

Ruby's letters, smuggled out of jail by a trusty, reveal that towards the end, he realized what his masters really were [RAMPARTS, February 1967]. The letters, sold by the reputable New York document auctioneer Charles Hamilton, portray a man acutely aware of his Jewishness who realizes with anguish that he has served not ultraconservatives but Nazis: "They are going to come out with a story that it was the Minutemen who killed the Jews," he wrote, "don't you believe it, they are using that to cover up for the Nazis. . . . Oh the way I fucked up this world who would ever dream that the motherfucker was a Nazi and found me the perfect setup for a frame. . . . I was used to silence Oswald. I walked into a trap the moment I walked down that ramp Sunday morning."

[RECONSTRUCTING THE CRIME]

IN OCTOBER 1963, a number of key figures in Garrison's probe converged upon Dallas. The Free Cuba group was installed in the house on Harlandale, which is in south Oak Cliff past Ruby's apartment. On October 3, the evening he returned from Mexico, Oswald checked into the YMCA on North Ervay and remained two days. The same two days the room next to him was occupied by a Cuban-appearing young man who registered as R. Narvaez. On the night of October 17, Loren Hall and Lawrence Howard Jr arrived at the YMCA; they checked out on October 22. The arrival of Hall possibly dovetails with the story of a new witness located by Garrison. The witness stated that in 1963, Hall was short of funds and petitioned him for assistance in the anti-Castro movement. He declined, but lent Hall $50, holding a .30 caliber rifle as collateral. About a month before the assassination, the witness says, Hall redeemed the weapon, commenting that he was going to Dallas to meet with a wealthy oilman—the same oilman who, Garrison knows, posted bail for Hall and William Seymour when they were arrested in Dallas in mid-October (in September 1966, the FBI stripped Dallas police files of all pertinent material concerning the arrests). As will be recalled, the record shows that the FBI did not locate and interview Hall, Howard and Seymour until just before the Warren Report went to press. But what makes these belated interviews seem dissembling is that the new witness swears that he was questioned by the FBI about Hall and the .30 caliber rifle *on the day after the assassination.*

Coupled with this development is the statement of Joseph Roland Hummel, who resided at the YMCA that October. Hummel has told Garrison that he had been casually acquainted with Oswald in New Orleans, and saw him again at the Dallas YMCA in late October. On two occasions he saw Oswald with a "skinny, thin-haired" young Anglo, on one occasion on the sun roof of the YMCA with Jack Ruby.

What was Ruby's role before he was pressed into service to do away with Oswald? A Houston Secret Service report prepared within days of Ruby's shooting of Oswald synopsizes: "Numerous witnesses identify Jack Leon Rubenstein, alias Jack Ruby, as being in Houston, Texas on November 21, for several hours, one block from the President's entrance route and from the Rice Hotel where [the President] stayed." The Houston report was countermanded by a Dallas SS report that flatly declared: "Ruby was in Dallas on November 21, 1963." The Dallas version was predicated upon two alibi incidents furnished by Ruby, plus the inconclusive statement of Andrew Armstrong that "he did not know of Ruby having made any long trips away from Dallas recently" (CE 2399).

Garrison points out that there was a 4-1/2 hour gap in accounting for Ruby's presence in Dallas that day, giving him adequate time to fly back and forth that afternoon to "case" the Presidential motorcade in Houston. Complementing this is the report of a Mexico City attorney that Ruby's sister, Eva Grant, was in San Antonio that same morning watching the motorcade there [RAMPARTS, November 1966]. Arturo Alocer Ruiz, his wife and her woman friend were in San Antonio on vacation. They noticed an obese woman rooted to a spot near the Gunter Hotel—she was there at least two hours—waiting for the President's entourage to pass on its way to the airport and the short hop to Houston. After Ruby shot Oswald and Eva's picture was shown on television, the Alocer party immediately recognized her as the obese woman they had seen in San Antonio. Although the FBI sloughed off the report, Garrison considers it reliable.

Shortly before and after the assassination, Ruby was placed by witnesses in the Dallas Morning News building, which commands a view of Dealey Plaza. Around 1:00 p.m. he was spotted at Parkland Hospital by housewife Wilma Tice and newsman Seth Kantor (in one of its more disingenuous moments, the Commission claimed that Mrs. Tice was mistaken and that Kantor, who knew Ruby well, had seen him somewhere other than Parkland—even though Kantor graphically described being collared by the night club owner at the bottom of a hospital staircase). Was it Ruby who planted the so-called magic bullet on a stretcher outside the trauma room? Since no one saw him do it, we can only speculate. But as we have seen, Ruby's actions were hardly irrational, and it was that bullet which forged the final link for the Commission between Oswald and the assassination. (It did not seem to bother the Commission that the bullet was in near-pristine condition, looking more like it had been fired into a stuffing box than through the sinew, muscle and bone of Kennedy and Connally [CE 399].)

For a bachelor of casual habits, Sunday morning, November 24, was possibly the most synchronized in Ruby's life. At 11:17 a.m. by automatic time stamp, he wired $25 to Mrs. Bruce Ray Carlin, stage name Little Lynn, one of his performers who lived in Ft. Worth (surely a pretext: the night before, Little Lynn and her husband had made a special trip to the Carousel—Ruby lent him $5—and Ruby was carrying several thousand dollars in cash). Then he strode from the Western Union office across the street from the police department to the Main Street entrance of the police basement. How he slipped through the guard is open to question, but his timing was exquisite. Listening to the sound tracks of videotapes made in the basement about the time the elevator carrying Oswald arrived at basement level, one hears the hollow-sounding "honk" of a car horn (only police vehicles were in the basement), then a pause of some four seconds, then another "honk" closely followed by the crack of Ruby's pistol. Were the "honks" signaling to Ruby the progress of his victim so he could suddenly push through the press ranks? In one of his letters smuggled from jail Ruby wrote, "If you hear a lot of hornblowing, it will be for me, they will want my blood!"

BASED ON THE FRESH evidence in Garrison's possession, we can now partially reconstruct the operation and getaway on November 22.

As previously reported [RAMPARTS, June 1967], the DA contends that the assassination bore the classic earmarks of a guerrilla ambush in which the President was caught in converging fire. The fatal head shot, he says, was fired from the Grassy Knoll area, a quartering angle from the front. The operation was coordinated by radio.

To recapitulate, railroader S. M. Holland, standing on the Triple Underpass, insists to this day that "there definitely was a shot fired from behind that fence [on the Knoll]." The late Lee Bowers, who was in the railroad tower directly north of the Knoll, testified that three cars, one radio-equipped, prowled the parking lot between his tower and the Knoll shortly before the shooting; he said they definitely were not law enforcement vehicles. Bowers stated he saw two men behind the picket fence on the Knoll just before the shots were fired, one "middle-aged" and "heavy-set," the other "about midtwenties in either a

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Several months ago, I was shown a film titled, "You Dig It," made in New York—under the Mobilization for Youth program—by a group of young men and women from poor Negro and Puerto Rican homes. It was an outstanding effort, in my opinion.

"You Dig It" was made without professional guidance. The script was written by a 16-year old; directed and filmed by two 20-year olds; with a cast composed of 50 youngsters between 15 and 20 with no previous film-making experience.

I was so excited about "You Dig It" that I met with the young film makers. Outwardly, they looked just like any other group of similar age and background. But inwardly *they glowed.* These young people—who were born to failure and had only hopelessness ahead of them—suddenly and dramatically achieved success. Not money, not fame—not yet. But seeing themselves and their films on TV and at Lincoln Center . . . hearing their work praised by seasoned professionals . . . winning a first prize (the Plaque of the Lion of St. Marc) at the 1967 Venice Documentary Film Festival . . . has given them pride, purpose—and almost fulfillment of their dream.

But—and there is always a but—the Mobilization for Youth program cannot provide any more money. The group has appealed to various foundations, but their decisions often take so long that these teen-agers may be in wheelchairs before the red tape is cut and the money comes in.

Knowing that Ramparts readers share many of my views and concerns, I ask you to join me in supporting this talented group. They need a total of $80,000 to continue their work for another year, which includes production of a feature film and two half-hour shorts.

Please take a moment now to fill out the coupon below, then mail it with your check today. Whatever you can afford to give will be deeply appreciated. Your contribution is tax-deductible, of course.

Sincerely,
Otto Preminger
Otto Preminger

Cultural Arts Dept., Mobilization for Youth. 214 E. Second St., N.Y., N.Y. 10009

Here is my contribution of $________ to enable the young men and women who made "You Dig It" to continue their movie work for another year.

NAME____________________
ADDRESS____________________
CITY__________STATE________ZIP______

Please make checks payable to: Cultural Arts Department, Mobilization for Youth. Contributions are tax-deductible.
R

plaid shirt or plaid coat or jacket." Although the men were partly obscured by foliage when the shots rang out, Bowers said that in their vicinity there was "some unusual occurrence—a flash of light or smoke or something . . ." (Vol. 6, pp. 228ff). Postal employee J. C. Price, who had a bird's-eye view of the scene, picked up from there: "I saw one man run towards the passenger cars on the railroad siding after the volley of shots [the parking lot is bisected by a railroad spur]. This man had a white dress shirt, no tie and khaki-colored trousers. His hair appeared to be long and dark and from his agility in running could be 25 years of age. He had something in his hand. I couldn't be sure but it may have been a head piece" (CE 2003, p. 222).

A new witness of Garrison's (he is afraid to have his name made public), who had the same vantage point as Price, states that after the shots were fired, two men dashed from behind the Knoll fence and headed behind the Depository Building, where they were joined by a third man. Two of them got in a Rambler station wagon and drove north, away from the scene. The third, a "heavyset, dark-complexioned" man, proceeded back toward Dealey Plaza and disappeared. It is quite possibly this third man whom James R. Worrell described to the Commission. When the shooting started, said Worrell, he sought cover across Houston Street from the rear of the Depository Building. "I was there approximately three minutes before I saw this man come out the back door . . . the way he was running, I would say he was in his late twenties or middle —I mean early thirties . . . his coat was open and kind of flapping back in the breeze." Worrell asserted the man ran alongside the building back toward the Dealey Plaza area (Vol. 2, pp. 190-201). Although his questioning by the Commission was less than exhaustive, there will be no more interviews: Worrell died in a traffic accident on November 9, 1966.

About 15 minutes after the assassination, Deputy Sheriff Roger D. Craig testified he "observed an individual run down the grass area from the direction of the Texas School Book Depository. He heard this individual whistle and a white Rambler station wagon, driven by a Negro male, pulled over to the curb and said individual got in . . ." (CE 1967). The incident is corroborated by Marvin C. Robinson, who told the FBI he was driving past the Depository sometime between 12:30 and 1:00 p.m. when "a light-colored Nash station wagon suddenly appeared before him. He stated this vehicle stopped and a white male came down the grass-covered incline between the building and the street and entered the station wagon after which it drove away in the direction of the Oak Cliff section . . ." (Dallas FBI report 89-43).

Robinson paid no attention to the man, but Craig said it was Oswald. The Commission rejected his identification "because of the overwhelming evidence that Oswald was far away from the building at that time." Once again, the Commission ignored the possible manifestation of an Oswald double, this time one who may have been one of the assassins, shooting from the Depository Building. Recently Craig went to New Orleans to confer with Garrison. Among other things, he told the DA that he had not said that a Negro was driving the Rambler, but a "dark, swarthy man, possibly a Cuban." On his return to Dallas, Craig noticed that he was being shadowed. As he came out of a restaurant after lunch, a bullet whizzed by his head.

A possible getaway plane was spotted at Red Bird Airport some few miles south of Oak Cliff at about 1:00 p.m. Two women have reported that they saw a twin-engine plane, engines idling, sitting well away from the paved access strips and runway, and close to the highway from Dallas via Oak Cliff. Coupled with this information is the assertion of a Garrison informant that a Minuteman in Arizona boasted to him that one of the Cubans on the assassination team was flown to Arizona and hid out in his home before slipping across the border into Mexico.

There is a sequel to this flurry of movement; it took place in the restaurant of the Winnipeg, Canada airport February 13, 1964. Richard Giesbrecht, a businessman whom Garrison's staff has interviewed, was waiting for a luncheon partner and overheard a conversation at an adjacent table between a man of about fifty who wore a hearing aid and spoke with a Southern accent and a younger man with "bushy hair and bushy pronounced eyebrows." Both expressed concern over how much Lee Oswald had told his wife about the assassination plot. In their conversation, they brought up an unidentified man named Isaacs; they found it odd that "Isaacs" would become mixed up with a "psycho" like Oswald. In their conversation, a man referred to as Hoffman or Hockman was to "relieve" Isaacs and destroy his 1958 model automobile. "We have more money at our disposal now than at any other time," the older man reported. He disclosed that the group of which both men apparently were a part would hold a meeting in a Kansas City hotel in March with reservations made in the name of a textile concern. At this point the pair noticed Giesbrecht, who started to a phone to notify police. A third man materialized and blocked his way. The trio quickly disappeared.

The FBI checked on the incident—but the results of this investigation are also "classified." However, a classified document captioned "Harold Isaacs" does exist. A Garrison investigator has located a Harold Isaacs in Texas, and Isaacs acknowledges that he owned a 1958 Ford which was "crushed in a wrecking yard." It is also noteworthy that Kansas City is the headquarters of the national Minutemen organization. Recently witness Giesbrecht was shown an assortment of photographs. "That's the man with the bushy eyebrows," he explained, picking out a mug shot of David Ferrie.

[THE POWER PLAY]

THE CLOSER GARRISON comes to fitting together all the pieces of the assassination mosaic, the more desperate the attempt to squelch him becomes. Long ago the "national security" curtain was dropped on over 200 documents in the National Archives that range from "Allegation Oswald in Montreal, summer 1963," to a teaser like "re Charles Small, aka Smolikoff (Mexican trip)." Many of these documents now appear relevant to his investigation, but despite the fact that he is a duly constituted law enforcement officer, he cannot gain access to them.

And how do items turn up *missing* from a citadel of security like the National Archives? Twenty-six items connected with the assassination are so listed, including "Jack Ruby's notebook maintained by Larry Craford [his Carousel Club flunky who scurried out of Dallas the afternoon of the assassination]." Moreover, Garrison observes that there was "an incredible incidence

Individuals Against the Crime of Silence

A Declaration To Our Fellow Citizens Of The United States, To The Peoples Of The World, And To Future Generations:

1 We are appalled and angered by the conduct of our country in Vietnam.

2 In the name of liberty, we have unleashed the awesome arsenal of the greatest military power in the world upon a small agricultural nation, killing, burning and mutilating its people. In the name of peace, we are creating a desert. In the name of security, we are inviting world conflagration.

3 We, the signers of this declaration, believe this war to be immoral. We believe it to be illegal. We must oppose it.

4 At Nuremberg, after World War II, we tried, convicted and executed men for the crime of OBEYING their government, when that government demanded of them crimes against humanity. Millions more, who were not tried, were still guilty of THE CRIME OF SILENCE.

5 We have a commitment to the laws and principles we carefully forged in the AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, at the NUREMBERG TRIALS, and in the UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. And our own deep democratic traditions and our dedication to the ideal of human decency among men demand that we speak out.

We Therefore wish to declare our names to the office of the Secretary General of the United Nations, both as permanent witness to our opposition to the war in Vietnam and as a demonstration that the conscience of America is not dead.

On September 23, 1965, a Memorandum of Law was incorporated in the Congressional Record of the 89th Congress of the United States of America, in which eighty leading American attorneys, after careful analysis of our position and actions in the Vietnam War, came to the conclusion that we are violating the following accords: The Charter of the United Nations, The Geneva Accords of 1954, the United States Constitution.

To Protest—To Object—To Dissent has long been an American tradition. The following are a few among the many who have signed this declaration to be on permanent record.

ABE AJAY
JAMES BALDWIN
(FATHER) J. E. BAMBERGER, M D , OCSO
DANIEL BERRIGAN, S.J.
REV. PHILLIP BERRIGAN, S S.J.
RAY BRADBURY
ROBERT McAFFEE BROWN
REV. WILLIAM H. DU BAY
JAMES FARMER
W. H. FERRY
DR. JEROME D. FRANK
REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
BEN GAZZARA
DR. FRED GOLDSTEIN
NAOMI L. GOLDSTEIN
DR. RALPH R. GREENSON
PROF. ABRAHAM J. HESCHEL
BRIG. GENERAL H. B. HESTER, RET.
DR. STANLEY HOFFMAN
TERESSA B. HOFFMAN
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SANDER L. JOHNSON, ESQ.
PROF. DONALD KALISH
EDWARD M. KEATING
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RABBI RICHARD N. LEVY
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HERBERT D. MAGIDSON
SHIRLEY MAGIDSON
NORMAN MAILER
THOMAS MERTON
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BISHOP JAMES A. PIKE
RICHARD M. POWELL
CARL REINER
JANICE RULE
ROBERT RYAN
DAVID SCHOENBRUN
LORRY SHERMAN
PROF. ROBERT SIMMONS
DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK
FRED H. STEINMETZ, ESQ.
DR. NORMAN TABACHNICK
D. IAN THIERMANN
BRYNA IVENS UNTERMEYER
LOUIS UNTERMEYER
DICK VAN DYKE
ROBERT VAUGHN
DR. MAURICE N. WALSH
DR. HARVEY WHEELER
A. L. WIRIN, ESQ.

I wish to sign my name to the above Declaration to the United Nations and want to go on record with this Declaration of the Individuals Against the Crime of Silence.

signature ____________________

For clarity, also print your name after your signature

address ____________________ date ________

city ____________ state ________ zip ________

Sign, complete and mail to P.O. Box 69960, Los Angeles, Calif. 90069. The office of the Individuals Against the Crime of Silence will then forward the information to the United Nations.

Should you also wish to support additional publishings and communications, send $1 or more in cash or by check made payable to Individuals Against the Crime of Silence. This donation entitles you to the lapel emblem and the wallet-sized registration card. Money is needed to speed our progress.

The strength of our numbers will regularly and effectively be made known. Your signature does have power.

TEAR ON THE DOTTED LINE AND MAIL—YOUR SIGNATURE DOES HAVE POWER IF YOU USE IT—OVER 60,000 ALREADY HAVE.

of spontaneous combustion" in Washington the day after the assassination when autopsy notes went up in flames and a secret CIA report on Oswald's activities prior to the assassination was singed beyond recognition in a Thermofax machine.

Coupled with the secrecy has been an aggressive drive to intimidate and discredit witnesses. Abraham Bolden, the first Negro Secret Service agent, accused his brother agents of carousing into the wee hours of November 22, and stated that while in custody Oswald blurted out, "Ruby hired me"; Bolden was subsequently charged by his superiors with bribery and convicted, and he protests to no avail that the charges against him were a frame-up. A Dealey Plaza eyewitness who in 1963 told the FBI that two men ran from behind the Grassy Knoll fence was brusquely warned, "If you didn't see Oswald shoot from that sixth-floor window, you'd better keep your damn mouth shut." A New Orleans man with pertinent information about a local Minuteman was admonished by the FBI not to tell the DA anything because "District Attorney Garrison was trying to overturn the findings of the Warren Report."

The affair of Jules Rocco Kimble illustrates how governmental pressure has induced potential witnesses to slip from Garrison's grasp. A self-avowed member of the Ku Klux Klan who got in trouble over bombings in Baton Rouge, Kimble approached the DA's men in the apparent hope of gaining mitigation. He said that on the day after David Ferrie died, he drove a top KKK official, Jack Helm, to Ferrie's apartment. Helm came out with a satchel crammed with papers, which he placed in a bank safe deposit box. Kimble also divulged that in 1962, he had flown to Montreal with Ferrie on what was purported to be Minutemen business. He promised the DA's investigators that he would garner further information and report back.

He didn't come through. Shortly afterward, he phoned his wife from Atlanta, saying he had met a CIA contact. "They'll never get me back to New Orleans," he vowed. A few days after that, he called from Montreal. For reasons unknown, Kimble backtracked to Tampa, Florida, where he was arrested by local police. Interviewed by Garrison's men, he said that he had once worked special assignments for the CIA, and in verification named his Agency contacts and the box number at the Lafayette Street station they assigned him. He averred he had recontacted the CIA after Walter Sheridan had counseled him to say nothing to the DA and go to Canada. Sheridan, the ex-Bobby Kennedy ramrod in the Justice Department's "get Hoffa" crusade, is now with NBC News and has been instrumental in that television network's extraordinary effort to abort the assassination investigation. Sheridan was so overzealous that he was subsequently indicted by a grand jury for public bribery in attempting to induce witnesses to make statements against Garrison. However, the network does not consider this newsworthy.

NBC's special on the Garrison case broadcast last June exemplifies their effort. One of the stars of the program was Dean Andrews Jr, who has since been convicted of perjury by a New Orleans jury in connection with his testimony about the Clay Bertrand phase of the investigation. Andrews lent an ethereal quality to Garrison's probe by saying that he invented the name Manuel Garcia Gonzales and watched the DA's men frantically look for him as a suspect. There *is* a Manuel Garcia Gonzales. I have seen the nasty Llama pistol confiscated from him by New Orleans police in September 1966, shortly before Garrison became interested in him, and the immigration file documenting his admission to the United States. Another canard fabricated by NBC was the assertion that the network had located the real Clay Bertrand, and that he was not Clay Shaw. The man's name had been turned over to the Justice Department, the narrator said. The man turned out to be bar owner Eugene Davis, who loudly protested that he had never used the name—and indeed, he did not fit the description—of "Clay Bertrand."

Another medium that has been particularly shrill in its anti-Garrison invective is Newsweek, which at times seems to parrot the administration line as faithfully as Izvestia hawks the Kremlin's. The magazine's "expert" on the case is Hugh Aynesworth, who at the time of the assassination was an ace reporter for the Dallas Morning News, which saw fit to print the black-bordered "Wanted for Treason: John F. Kennedy" ad on November 22nd. In his Garrison put-down (May 15, 1967), Aynesworth reported the charges of Alvin Beauboeuf, Ferrie's companion on the Texas trip the afternoon of the assassination, that two DA investigators tried to bribe him. What Aynesworth didn't report was that the tape recording of the conversation made by Beauboeuf's attorney had been carefully edited to delete the investigator's emphatic warnings to Beauboeuf that they sought only the truth, and that they would subject him to lie detector testing to verify as far as possible that he was telling the truth.

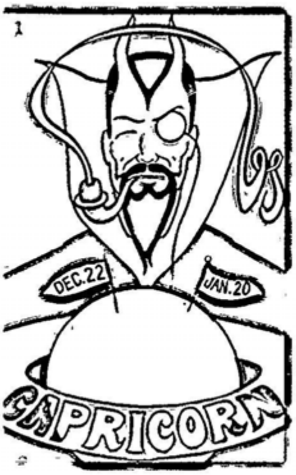
The tandem attack on Garrison, with much of the press copy sounding like it had been ghostwritten by Richard Helms, seems to be the preliminary to legal moves aimed at removing the DA from office or even jailing him.

The behavior of U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark has been most suggestive that such a play is in the works. On March 2, 1967, the day after Clay Shaw was arrested, the attorney general announced that Shaw had been investigated by the FBI in 1963 and "cleared" of any complicity in the assassination. Three months later, after the world had been noisily advised that the prestigious FBI had found Shaw innocent, Clark sheepishly admitted there had been no investigation at all. The refraction hardly caused a ripple in the press. Then on October 14, UPI quoted Clark as telling an audience of law students at the University of Virginia that Garrison "took a perfectly fine man, Clay Shaw, and ruined him just for personal aggrandizement," and that the Department would prosecute the DA. Clark promptly issued a denial, and a Department spokesman lamely explained that the boss had "discussed this matter hypothetically in response to a question."

But the most reasonable interpretation is that Clark let slip precisely what was on his mind. The notion is reinforced by the affidavit of Gordon Novel's former wife, Marlene Mancuso, who told Garrison that Richard Townley of NBC's New Orleans affiliate tried to get her to testify against the investigation. "He said they were not merely going to discredit the probe," she swore. "He said Garrison would get a jail sentence."

When news of the assassination probe first broke, Garrison declaimed in a burst of rhetoric, "Let justice be done though the heavens fall!" The heavens are still there, but Washington has come crashing down upon him.

Fosso's Zodiac Posters. One dollar each.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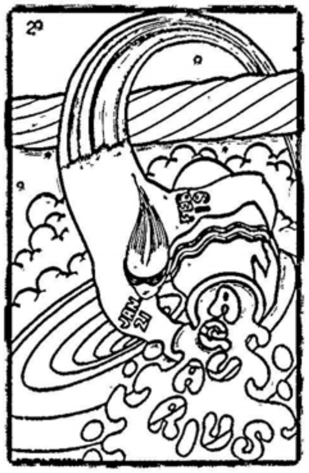
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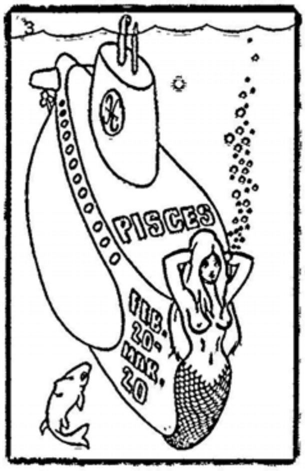
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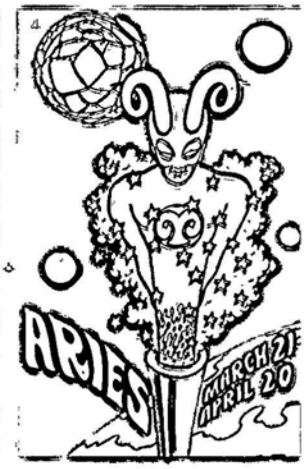
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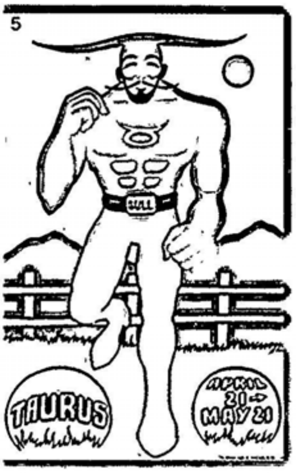
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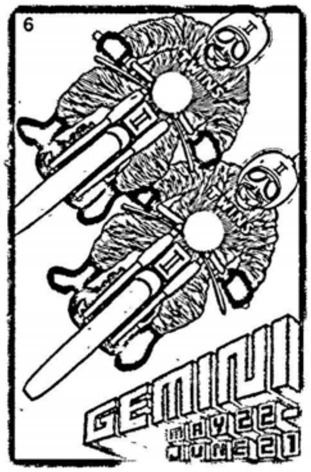
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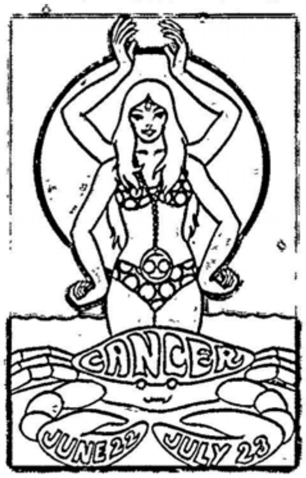
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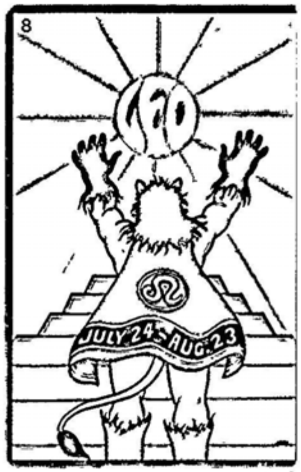
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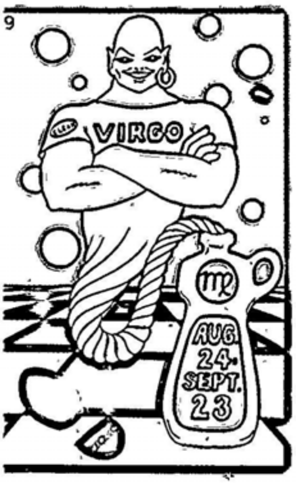
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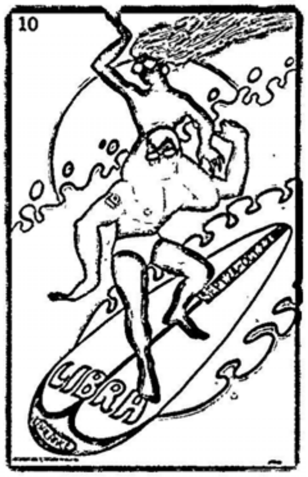

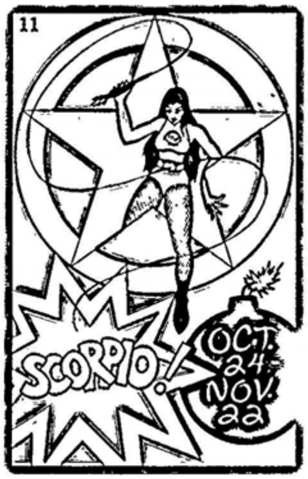
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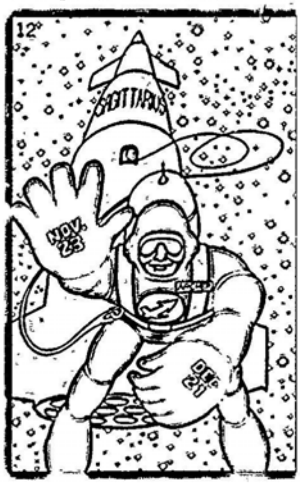
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